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The American Scholar

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WILLIAM JAMES

A pencil sketch by himself

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William James

RALPH BARTON PERRY
Professor of Philosophy, Harvard University

WILLIAM JAMES'S name deserves a place on any list of America's foremost representatives of intellectual attainment. He has often been grouped with Jonathan Edwards and Emerson as judged by originality and influence in the realm of ideas. The comparison reveals notable differences between James and his two peers, if such they be. Edwards was a metaphysician of the severest type, rigorous and logical but so abstruse that he has few readers. Emerson was an essayist, gracious, eloquent, and therefore widely read; but he was a man who uttered his intuitions, feelings, and convictions without defining them or arguing for them, with the result that he contributed nothing to the development of philosophy in the technical sense. James had something of both qualities. He was a trained scientist and a close student of philosophical literature. He evaded none of the problems with which philosophers have tortured themselves since the time of Thales. But on the other hand he had the taste and creative impulse of the artist, possessed a brilliant and colorful style, and had an eager desire to make himself understood by a large public. As a result he not only exerted a powerful influence on philosophers and psychologists and contributed to the advancement of human knowledge, but was also a writer of wide popularity in his own day. This popularity was further enhanced by his lovable personality and extended by his linguistic accomplishments and by his many and prolonged visits to Europe.

So much has been written about James, and it is so easy and agreeable to read what he has written himself, that I shall not undertake here either to give the facts of his life or to expound his contributions to philosophy and psychology. I shall confine myself to several matters that may be of special interest to younger American scholars as illustrating James's peculiar type of intellectuality.

In the first place, he had less than the usual amount of formal

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education. This was not due to lack of opportunity, but in part to ill-health and in part to what might be described as a superfluity of opportunity. He was impatient, subject to sharp alternations of mood, and so versatile that he spent many years in experimenting with himself. As a boy he went from school to school and from tutor to tutor, both in America and in Europe. He tried painting, medicine, and physiology. In the last two subjects he did have several years of intermittent study. But in psychology and philosophy, the subjects in which he became a great teacher and writer, he received scarcely any instruction. He said that he never took a "course" in either subject, and that, I believe, is literally true, although he attended occasional lectures in Germany. But when he began teaching psychology in 1875 and philosophy in 1879 (at the ages of thirty-three and thirty-seven respectively) he was amply prepared. Not only had he read voluminously, but it turned out that all of his experiences, even his disappointments, his interruptions, his vacillations, and his sufferings, had somehow formed and enriched his mind. I know of no career which is better calculated to reveal the difference between the realities of education and its external forms.

I have referred to James's versatility. His was the type of mind that achieves greatness not by narrow concentration, but by the cross-fertilization of many interests. He traveled widely and read extensively in general literature. He was an anatomist, a physiologist, a psychologist, a psychiatrist, a moralist, a metaphysician, and a student of religion. He was a painter and a writer. He did not confine himself to his library, class-room, or study, but took an active part in the social and political life of his time. This diversity of interests did not weaken any of them. He did not lose effectiveness by "scattering" himself. On the contrary he was, for example, a better philosopher for being a psychologist, and a better psychologist for being a philosopher. Perhaps only great minds can be so prodigal of their resources, but it is certainly true that the peculiar quality of James's attainment, the flexibility and tone of liberality that distinguish him, are quite inconceivable without his mobility and breadth.

James's gift for reading is not always appreciated. The informality and lightness of his style have given rise to the mistaken idea that he lacked learning. But he had great learning. Although he suffered from ill-health much of his life and was often unable to use his eyes

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for months at a time, his reading was extraordinary both in extent and in thoroughness. He possessed an astonishing facility for rapid reading due to the native quickness of his apprehension, and to the fact that he instantly assimilated what he read. He thought as he read and converted his reading at once into intellectual power and wealth. If his learning did not show it was because he did not regard it as an end in itself, still less as a commodity or decoration. He loved knowledge and truth, but hated pedantry and obscurity.

James thought much, especially during the later years of his life, about the rôle and the responsibilities of the educated man in modern society. Two of his published addresses bear directly on this topic. In 1903 when he received the degree of LL.D. from Harvard, he told his audience what Harvard meant to him, and what a great university *should* mean to its students. In this address he set forth most impressively his gospel of individualism. A great university, he said, will be distinguished by its atmosphere of freedom and tolerance. It will encourage its members to think for themselves, and to be themselves —each man after his own genius. In another address, in 1907, he devoted himself explicitly to the question of "The Social Value of the College Bred." He thought it the peculiar duty of educated men and women to combat the blind and primitive forces that drive men to war, to mob-violence, and to demagoguery. The educated man will not hold himself aloof from the problems of the day, but he will approach them in a thoughtful spirit. He will be an organ of light rather than of heat. He will not allow himself to be swept along in the current of partisanship or emotion, but will make up his own mind, criticise what is false, fight for the right and the true as his conscience and his reason dictate. He must have the moral courage to be in the minority, and to look to the remote, rather than to the immediate and palpable results of his influence. If James were alive today and looked about upon the great confusion of mind which has overtaken the world, he would feel the need of this same gospel. Would that he were alive to preach it!

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William James and Our Changing World

JULIUS SEELYE BIXLER
Smith College

WILLIAM JAMES died in 1910, before the War and the changes which it brought, yet it seems possible to affirm that conditions are better today for an understanding of his work than during his lifetime. The pre-War period had its achievements, yet it seems to us as we look back on it to have been an age of comparative complacency. The world was not perfect, but it was improving, and drastic changes in ways of viewing economic, philosophical, or religious problems were the last things to be expected. To such a period James did not entirely belong. He was no spokesman for conservatism. His philosophy was always a bit too unorthodox, his religion too unconventional, his insights too widely ranging and diverse to be included within the established classifications. It is not altogether surprising that a Harvard savant who was his contemporary was led to call him one of the more disintegrating forces of the time.

But as we look at his philosophy today in the light of the changes which have come—and the greater changes anticipated—it is possible to see that his radicalism and unconventionality were the natural accompaniments of his own profound conviction of the need for change, and for a philosophy in which it would be given its due. It is not so much that he belonged in the succession of thinkers from Heraclitus to Bergson who stress the fact of "becoming" against "being." For him the contrast was rather between what he believed to be, in the philosophical tradition of his own day, an emphasis on the static quality of critical thought, and his own conviction of the dynamic nature of both thought and emotion, and of both as arising out of the stream of life. James was indeed a prophet of life in the sense that he found in it, rather than in any intellectual abstraction, the ultimate

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sanctions of both thought and conduct. The change with which he was concerned was that shown by the living organism as it chooses its path among many environmental possibilities. The attitudes which he strove to incorporate in his philosophy were those of receptiveness, selective assimilation, purpose, and control. He was reproached by his critics for ambiguity and lack of precision, and the charge is sometimes just. But if he lacked a certain kind of consistency, he had in abundance the animation, vividness, and color which are not the common property of philosophers, and the seemingly erratic tempo and disorder of his ideas may well have been a part of his own attempt to make his work reflect the kaleidoscopic character of the living current. His insights often seem to come out of life in the raw, charged with suggestiveness, and pointing successfully to the underlying richness of experience which refuses to be caught in the bonds of mere words. And he used them for the clarification of certain ideals which for him were implicit in the life-process itself.

The spirit of revolt which had so large a place in James's work can be seen most clearly in his attitude toward absolute idealism, the reigning philosophy of his time. A view of reality which put all things in the mind of one supreme Thinker seemed to him to leave no room for individual initiative or originality. In spite of their attempts, as in the work of Royce, to do justice to the irrational element in experience, the universe was for the idealists essentially a safe place, and life was a story with a happy ending. For James, on the other hand, the world offered possibilities of great achievement, but also of abysmal failure. Ideas, beliefs, ideals were all precarious, but this only contributed a special tang to both life and philosophy. Booker Washington is said to have replied to the sentimentalist who commiserated him on the problem of his race, that he wouldn't belong to a race without a problem. In the same spirit James would surely have turned his back on a universe without risks. An unwitting disciple of his was the Methodist minister who, grudgingly announcing a Universalist meeting, remarked: "The Universalists, as you know, my friends, believe in universal salvation. But we hope for better things!"

James broke with the idealistic tradition and inaugurated a new tendency in philosophy by the use of an analogy simple in its statement but far-reaching in its implications. Idealism had made the subject-object figure of primary importance, focussing its attention especially

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on the intricate relations of substance and attribute, and making its answers to questions of conduct depend upon its solution of the problem of knowledge. James changed this at one stroke by concentrating on the relation of organism to environment, making the problem of knowledge a part of the larger problem of action, and looking to biology and psychology, rather than to logic, for new light on old philosophical problems. This change in emphasis is at once a reflection of James's own versatile scientific interests and a vindication of his claim that philosophy is more a matter of passionate vision than of logic, a reflection of the temperament of the thinker as much as it is an impersonal system of ideas. Consistency is important, but consistency alone will not bring an imaginative exploration of new fields. And as we read James we are not allowed to forget, first, that logic, as an abstraction from the richness of life can hardly be expected to do justice to the mystery and the infinite variety which our world contains, and second, that the ends which logic serves have a higher sanction than mere consistency can bring. Consistency helps us to realize certain goals which are authoritative simply because the desires which impel us toward them are our heritage from life itself. Our emotions bring their own credentials. Where they conflict we must find a principle which will bring order, but this principle will be chosen on the basis of the demands which life itself makes, for it is life, particularly as exemplified in the purposeful activity of higher organisms, which is the final arbiter.

It was in this spirit that James formulated his theory of "pragmatism." The common opinion that for pragmatism the truth is "that which works" is accurate only if we understand that "working" must be interpreted in terms of the realization of purposes, one of these being the attainment of ideas which are adequate for the purposes they are intended to serve, and also if we bear clearly in mind the fact that the definition was offered in the spirit of revolt against older definitions which failed to do justice to the total situation. As a psychologist James pointed out the purposive nature of all life and showed that the outstanding feature of mental activity is the selection of data in accordance with interests which the organism inherits. In sensation, imagination, and reflection we choose, on the basis of our interests, the things to which we shall pay attention, and in so doing we build our own mental world. But by this means we are actually

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adding to the sum total of reality. We group certain stars together and call them a constellation. We have not thereby changed the physical composition or the location of the stars, but we have added something to the universe. The world with our idea of a constellation is a different place from the world without that idea. If you say that the kind of reality which has been created is "merely subjective or private" you miss the point. For what kind of reality is more important for the world's future than that kind which is growing up in the hearts and minds of those creative organisms which we call human beings? And again, what part of our knowing procedure is more significant than the part which gives us a means of turning the stream of life into constructive channels? Part of our knowing is, of course, simply a mirroring of what already exists. To certain aspects of reality we must simply conform. But it is the creative part of the knowing process that we should emphasize, and this, James felt, traditional epistemology had failed to do. "Truth" itself is not something preestablished in the heavens, but a relationship which may or may not happen to our ideas. The final truth of our beliefs is dependent in part, of course, upon the accuracy of our observation, but it also depends on the effectiveness of our conceptions in doing what they set out to do. Any other view, James felt, commits us to a world where individual accomplishment is blocked from the beginning. Our ideas, starting as pointers to objects outside ourselves, are true if they lead to the things to which they point—if, in the largest and most inclusive sense, they work. The intellect is itself a purposive organ.

Now if you say, as many have, that James has confused "truth" with the process by which we discover whether things are "true," and that he has introduced an element of practicality into that which should be detached from all practise, you will make a criticism which has some pertinence. But James seems to have been trying to suggest that we carry the canons of strict conformity too far and use them for situations where they do not apply. Science is of course objective and impartial. Its job is to copy what it finds, as no one knew better than the great empirical psychologist himself. But there are other areas of experience to which the term "truth" also applies, and, in particular, our adoption of constructive and forward-looking beliefs must not be impeded by our fear of being fooled. A clear case is that of our atti-

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tude toward the religious alternative of optimism versus pessimism. We have not explored the farthest reaches of our cosmic environment and we do not know what its final message to us will be. Is, then, life worth living? No, not if we believe—that is act—as if it were not. Yes, if we believe that it is and make it so. It does, in the words of the old adage, all depend upon the liver! Interests and intellect are here so closely bound together that we cannot choose suspension of judgment as the higher loyalty. In this case the truth itself waits for our active affirmation, and our ideas, like our beliefs, supplement our practical attitudes, achieving correctness by the way in which they fulfill our purposes as living beings.

If James's pragmatism is then an attempt to enliven and expand the conception of truth, his "pluralism" is also little more than a plea for variety and a protest against the neutrality of either absolutism or naturalism. In diversity and novelty he found clues to the universe's deepest secrets. The one doctrine that he was compelled to hold was that of freedom. Or, as he once put it: "My first act of free will shall be to believe in free will." He pleads for "the slightest wiggle of independence" and affirms repeatedly that a rigidly unified world is at once too large for religious faith and too small for the varieties of existence. If there be a God he must be a part of reality, personal in his limitations, for whom the distinctions between good and evil, joy and pain, man and the infinite, are real, not an Absolute in whom they are finally transcended. The world which man confronts is a changing world—restless, unsettled, mysterious in its inner being, full of undetermined possibilities. And, for his part, James would not have it otherwise. If in its pluralism it reminds a critic of "a mass of maggots in their carrion bed," he claims that any view which irons out the chaos must have its own deeper repugnance, while we today know that even maggots have their uses for medical science. An ordered whole is an object of idolatry. "It seems too buttoned-up and white-chokered and clean-shaven a thing to speak for the vast slow-breathing Kosmos with its dread abysses and unknown tides." "Its relations, with no subjects make me feel," he says, "as if I had to live in a large seaside boarding house with no private bedroom in which I might take refuge from the society of the place." "Certainly, to my personal knowledge," he exclaims again, "all Hegelians are not prigs, but I somehow feel as if all prigs ought to end, if developed, by

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becoming Hegelians." The belief in the binding or "constitutive" power of relations, so esteemed by absolute idealists, interfered, James thought, not only with the privacy and distinctness of our intuitions, but with our ability to follow them through in a creative way. As self-styled "radical empiricist" he argued that some relations are external, that terms can pick them up and drop them without being themselves affected; also that they are given in experience in the rough and do not come solely through the binding power of thought. In his psychological work he claimed, for example, that we have transitive states of consciousness, experiences of "and" and "but" and "if" which are themselves connecting links between other terms. Experience, he said, must be taken as it comes, and not made to conform to stereotypes which the intellect lays down. Indeed, James carried this empiricism to an extreme of relativity in parts of his work, arguing not only that truth may or may not happen to ideas, but that certain ideas are true "in so far forth," and that conflicting moods reveal aspects of reality which in their own way are valid, and which cannot without loss be worked into a consistent whole. The story of his religious philosophy is in fact that of his own alternation between such moods and his attempt to be loyal to the insights which both conveyed.

This may be enough to indicate why it is that James can be called a philosopher of change when that change is interpreted not as the shifting indecisiveness of what he himself named "cosmic weather," but in terms of the purposive control which marks the relations of living organism with environment. It was by the use of this figure that he made his greatest contribution. By showing that the intellect is a means to the realization of purposes not themselves intellectual he gave the emotions a new philosophical status. At a time when psychology and philosophy were beginning to look to the "social milieu" for norms and standards, James championed the rights of the individual by pointing to the values of momentary insights, unclassified desires, the intuitions of the non-conformist, and by concerning himself with the varieties of religious experience rather than their standardization. He has vindicated the truth-attaining capacity of man's active energies, offered a new defense of freedom, given men renewed confidence in the validity of their spiritual aspirations. With the sharpness of his sense for the wrongness of things as they are, but

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the rightness of man's wish to change them, he has afforded our moral ambitions a standing which, in an age of cynicism, indifference, and hedonism, they often seem to lack. Human activities on his pages, so far from being futile, are charged with the highest significance.

Two questions may perhaps be asked, in concluding even so brief a sketch as this, about the permanent influence of James's work. The first is whether in its variety and discursiveness it can rightly be called a philosophy, or whether it is rather a series of suggestions. And the second is whether a view which takes its data unrefined from the current of life can play the critical part which philosophy is called on to perform. The answer to the first of these will depend upon the demands we make of a metaphysics. James's work is obviously less complete than it would have been if he had lived to finish the more rounded statement he had planned. What he has actually left us is a series of sketches of the nature of reality, somewhat more complete outlines of an epistemology, important observations on ethics, and a detailed account of the religious attitude. Yet does it not, even in its unsettled quality, reflect life as adequately as do the more precise statements of many metaphysicians? There is that in the roving character of his imagination, and in the novelty and originality of many of his points of view, which gives to his pages a remarkable faithfulness to experience as it actually comes. Granted that the strictly critical side is incomplete, we may yet affirm, parodying his own words, that it is vouchsafed to few to be incomplete on such a scale!

The other question goes deeper, and follows from the first. For critical incompleteness involves, among other things, inadequacy in standards of discrimination. James offers us many values, but we may ask whether he gives us a means of choosing among them. The pragmatic suggestion to wait for the "long run" is unsatisfactory because we do not always know what "long run" means, and because of our conviction that certain things are intrinsically good or bad, irrespective of their appeal to the majority today or tomorrow. Honesty is a good, even though individuals and races have survived by being dishonest, and murder is bad, though all the great nations are today energetically preparing for war. Kidnapping and racketeering could never be virtues, even if the majority of mankind called them such. But in appealing to life, and drawing our standards from it, are

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we not setting up a teleology of survival? If we say that consciousness is an instrument which life has developed for its own ends may we not argue, as have Lessing and Klages, that man with his brain is a faux pas of nature, an evolutionary blind alley, offering no possibilities for physical development and so bound to lose in the final struggle? Are the idealists not on surer ground when they turn from life to critical mind or spirit, and find in it that by which life itself is to be judged?

Certain elements in James's work give point to this kind of criticism, and it is they which have led to its characterization as a philosophy of "cash values," a phrase often applied to it in Europe today, and to the term "pragmatic acquiescence" with which it has been branded in this country. But surely no more superficial interpretation could be made of a man who could write so scathingly as did James of "that bitch-goddess, Success." The purposes for which he argued, and on which his mind dwelt, were spiritual purposes. It was perhaps the nobility of his own nature which directed his attention to these to the exclusion of others and led him to expect the same on the part of his readers. Just as for Socrates to see the better was perforce to pursue it, so for James to talk in terms of satisfactions meant to talk of those which are recognized as legitimate by conscience and reason. The will to believe as illustrated in his writings can never justly be charged with being an escape from reality or an indulgence in selfish illusion. It is rather a call to live with energy though energy bring pain, and to devote one's self to the highest, no matter what the sacrifice. It may be that the final criticism of James will rest on the fact that a subjectivistic emphasis cannot be pushed far without reaching the point at which subjective satisfaction becomes recognition of that which is objective, and that a thorough-going empiricism cannot follow its own implications through without reaching the kind of absolutes which its premises deny. Yet even here James's religious philosophy gives a hint as to his own possible answer. For his confidence in the sureness of individual religious insights points to his belief in a noumenal realm which is yet an object for phenomenal experience, and opens the way also to the grasp of a principle of value by which the extreme individualism of his ethics becomes apparent rather than real. James rebelled against an Absolute Mind, but his faith in absolute values and their apprehensibility seems never to have wavered.

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No, the criticisms which we pass today on the work of James are incidental. It is true, as many have pointed out, that he was ambiguous on certain issues and faulty in his analysis of some philosophical conceptions. But his work retains, twenty-two years after his death, qualities of vigor and charm which are irresistible. No other has done more to encourage the practical and hopeful acceptance of life with courage and with energy, and no other has been more stimulating to philosophical endeavor. The paradox of it is that James, by the extremes of his empiricism, should have inaugurated the behavioristic tendency to deny the self, when he was so appealing an exponent of the self's creative power. It is a paradox also that his phrase "stream of consciousness" should be used in literature to mean passiveness in the current of life, and that "will to believe" should be a by-word for selfish illusion, when he was himself so eager to preach a principle of control and an aggressive scrutiny and mastery of the facts. Surely the modern generation in the midst of a social order that is collapsing and an intellectual world which is in the throes of upheaval will find through its own purposeful attitudes the substance of the phrases which James has given us. Whatever the facts about the drives in human personality, the ruthlessness of a competitive economic system, the distances of stellar spaces, and the instability of the atom, human life now as always cries out for beliefs which will give it the richest and most triumphant expression. And it is as true today as when James wrote, that "hope for the future is at least as rational as fear."

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The Jameses: Financier, Heretic, Philosopher

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THE James family can hardly be charged with an excess of originality in the invention of Christian names, since six of its distinguished members share among them the two familiar cognomens of William and Henry. The three Henrys—beginning with the mystic and theologian Henry James the Elder, whose sons William the philosopher and Henry the novelist were to receive in abundance that recognition as geniuses which their father, in his way, as fully deserved; and continuing in our own day with William's son Henry, the biographer of Charles W. Eliot—are comparatively well-known. Of the three Williams—the founder of the family in America, the Reverend William James, D.D., and the Harvard philosopher and psychologist—only the last-named is familiar to most readers. Yet few characters hold more fascination for the student of great American families than the robust but little-known figure of William James's paternal grandfather, the architect of the family fortune, known to his own generation as "old Billy James" of Albany, New York.

Both the early history of the Jameses in County Cavan, northern Ireland, and the coming of the first of the clan to America are matters shrouded in uncertainty and dispute. They seem to have been substantial and energetic Scotch-Irish folk, although there is little hint in the earlier generations either of the great wealth or the intellectual distinction which were to accrue in America later on. Family tradition has it that, in a manner wholly befitting a prospective millionaire, William James arrived in New York City in 1789, a youth of eighteen, possessed solely of "a little money, a Latin grammar, and

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a great desire to visit one of the Revolutionary battlefields." He was a staunch Presbyterian, but, according to another family legend, he had left Ireland to escape entering the ministry, the career which his father desired him to follow. He seems to have expended his small store of money in visiting some of the scenes of the then-recent war with Great Britain, for we next encounter him, four years later, in Albany "with his industry the sole means of his subsistence."

A strangely contradictory story appears in the short biographical sketch edited by James H. Manning in the series "New York State Men," which states that William James's father "is believed to have preceded him to this country, the son following some time later, only to be sent back to Ireland to settle an estate. This he did, and on his own responsibility invested the proceeds in English merchandise, which he shipped to America, sold, and after paying his father the money due him, had left for himself a liberal amount. The entire transaction being conducted in a manner that clearly showed great ability in business matters, and foreshadowed the truly remarkable success that he later achieved."

Albany in 1793, although it was already nearly two centuries old, was still "a third- or fourth-rate town," with a population of only 3,498 souls. In the words of Gorham A. Worth's often-quoted description,

> Albany was indeed Dutch, in all its moods and tenses; thoroughly and inveterately Dutch. The buildings were Dutch—Dutch in style, in position, attitude, and aspect. The people were Dutch, the horses were Dutch, and even the dogs were Dutch.

But the Yankees were creeping in, and the famous sawing-off of the waterspouts at the instigation of Elkanah Watson sealed the fate of the Dutch dynasty. Even as late as 1831, however, some of Albany's ancient Dutch characteristics remained, if we are to judge by an editorial in the *American Monthly* of Boston in January of that year, which tendered a mock apology for an earlier reference to some of the notorious nuisances of Albany as "more Dutch than decent." It ran:

> The refinement and elegance of the Dutch families we have the honor of knowing, are not, as far as our observation goes, surpassed if equalled in this

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country. Yet it is not less true that in getting from the hotel to their places of residence, we have been twice run down and trampled over by hogs, or that the dirt and offals of the streets do not put in constant peril the decency of the well-drest foot passenger. It is little consolation to our ruined integuments (for that which falls in Albany *should* fall like Lucifer, never to rise again) that we have not yet acquired the local alacrity at dodging.

While some improvements were being brought about, largely through the insistence of the restless Yankee immigrants, the leadership of Albany society remained in the hands of the old Dutch families who for the most part lived upon their incomes from large landed estates, and "left to others the toils and profits of trade."

One of these "others" in 1793 was the young William James, who had secured employment as a clerk in John Robison's old blue store where the Albany Trust Company building now stands. After several years of clerking he entered business for himself in partnership with Mr. John Horner, selling tobacco and cigars. Later on North Market Street he opened a dry goods and grocery store, which was subsequently moved to State Street. His rise, even in prosperous Albany, was no less than phenomenal. In all his affairs, which were many, thanks to his "strong and practical intellect and unremitting perseverance," he enjoyed a prosperity and attained an opulence "almost beyond parallel" among his contemporaries. Not less remarkable was his foresight concerning the future of his adopted city. He saw that Albany was the natural gateway to the rich undeveloped country lying toward the west, and that a fortune awaited the man who could solve the problems of transportation. Shipping facilities were still primitive—goods either had to be drawn in wagons over indescribable roads, or floated down the rivers in clumsy bateaux. For many years James operated an express business between Albany and Utica with headquarters at his Albany store. He began to buy land to the westward, and soon had extensive holdings in Albany, Utica, Syracuse, and New York City, where he maintained a branch office. With Moses DeWitt Burnet he leased and operated the salt works of Syracuse, where the principal residential street still bears his name.

"Of unaffected manners, generous, hospitable, public spirited, open ever to the claims of charity, prompt to participate in any enterprise of general utility and benevolence," William James occupied, without holding political office, many positions of trust in the city of

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Albany. In wealth, influence, and the sincere respect and esteem of his fellow-citizens he was perhaps second only to the last patroon, General Stephen Van Rensselaer, with whom he was associated in many undertakings. He helped to organize the Albany Savings Bank, the second of its kind in the State, and the third in the United States, as well as the Chamber of Commerce, serving as first vice-president of both institutions, General Van Rensselaer being president of both. In 1815 he became a trustee of the Albany Academy, and in 1820 of the First Presbyterian Church. One of the pillars of community life in the growing capital city, and indeed in upstate New York, he was accustomed to the deference which was accorded the successful pioneer. "When old Billy James came to Syracuse," said a resident who could remember his visits, "things went as *he* wished." That his wishes were generally of a constructive nature may be judged by the verdict of the *New York Evening Post* at his death in 1832: "He has done more to build up the city of Albany than any other individual." For a New York newspaper to notice the passing of a resident of Albany was in itself no slight distinction.

William James, as one might have expected, became actively interested in the proposal to build the Erie Canal, even in the days when "a large part of the inhabitants of the State looked upon the whole project as visionary and foolhardy." His name stood third on the list of signers of the call for a meeting at the Tontine Coffee House on February 7, 1816, "the first formal, public effort in Albany to promote the canal," and first on the roll of commissioners appointed on April 5, 1823, to receive subscriptions for the construction of the Albany Basin, which two years later was ready to accommodate ten thousand canal boats. He backed the digging of "that ditch" through days of doubt and ridicule, and in due time he received his reward; for, on November 2, 1825, William James headed the Citizens' Committee of Albany at the great celebration which marked the opening of the canal to navigation throughout its entire length. "No event in the history of the State," declares McMaster, "surpassed in lasting importance the completion of the canal." Certainly in 1825 it seemed as if that would be the case. No less than fifty thousand persons were estimated to have formed the crowd at the Albany exercises. The Schenectady *Miscellaneous Cabinet* gives an enthusiastic account of the ceremony.

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> The whole country appeared to have been deluged with a multitude which no man could number, and to have settled into the vale of the Hudson. It is said an adequate idea cannot be formed of the splendour and the effect of the ceremonies during the day. The first boat which passed from the Mohawk to the Hudson . . . is represented as surpassing in her decorations the barge of Cleopatra. The exercises at the Pavillion near the capitol were in the highest degree solemn and interesting. Dr. Chester's prayer was long, fervent and impressive. . . . The immense multitude were silent as the grave. . . . Mr. Dudley, the Mayor of Albany, made a long and handsome address.

After these uncurtailed utterances came the address of William James, the comparative brevity of which must have been appreciated. It was the crowning occasion of a busy life. "At this moment," he declared, "I feel an indescribable emotion, something like a renewal of life, in partaking in the festivities of this day." His oration breathed a pardonable pride in the young nation's achievements, a genuine joy in the prospect of widespread material welfare, and a profound gratitude for the "special interposition of Providence in protecting and advancing our national honor and greatness." The speech was "spoken of in terms of high encomium and received with enthusiastic applause." In fact, said the *Cabinet*, "every person who had a part to perform in the transactions of this memorable day, which will form an epoch in our annals, acquitted himself in the handsomest manner, and to the satisfaction of the assembled multitude." Few captains of industry are granted a more spectacular public triumph than this.

The canal completed, the expected boom era arrived with a rush and a flood of apparently "inexhaustible and countless riches" began to pour through the Albany region in both directions. Even in 1819 Benjamin Silliman had reported that some two thousand wagons passed up and down State Street in a single day. But now it was no longer a matter of wagons, rather of some seven thousand canal boats whose traffic brought in annually some hundreds of thousands of dollars in tolls. In 1826 a traveler testified that there were no unoccupied houses in Albany, that domestic manufactures flourished, that some five million dollars' worth of goods had been sold the previous year, and some hundred and fifty thousand travelers had arrived. By January, 1831, Mayor Bloodgood could announce to the citizens that "within the last few years our population has doubled, and our buildings public and private have multiplied greatly, exceeding the most

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sanguine expectations of our inhabitants; probably there is no city in the Union in which a greater amount has been latterly expended for improvement than in this." The capital, with its twelve churches, four banks, an academy, a museum, a theatre, and a circus, had become "a place of resort and bustle" with a settled population in 1830 of 24,209. The rule of the Dutch landowner had been replaced by that of the Yankee trader; and well may Worth argue that "Albany has probably undergone a greater change, not only in its physical aspect, but in the habits and character of its population, than any other city in the United States."

The canal, however, was not to be the end of the story, for even while William James was renewing his youth by participating in the festivities attendant upon its opening, rumors of a strange and mighty rival for the freight and passenger traffic were coming from the south. Only twenty days after the Albany exercises, the announcement was made "that at the next session of the Legislature application would be made for the right to construct a rail line to be operated by steam from Albany to Schenectady, or else to Troy, if deemed advisable." On July 29, 1830, President Stephen Van Rensselaer of the Board of Trustees of the Mohawk and Hudson Railroad, accompanied by the President and Faculty of Union College and a long procession of citizens, broke ground with a silver spade on the brow of Prospect Hill in Schenectady for the State's first railroad. That too, if we may trust the flowery reporting of the *Argus*, was a moment of high emotion:

> Three times three rent the air; and the eminence which has frowned upon the valley of the Mohawk since creation, but which is now destined to sink into a plain before the moral and physical energies of the age, re-echoed the cheers over the luxuriant harvests of the plain below.

The dominance of the canal, which had promised to be permanent, was destined to be surprisingly short-lived. Adolescent America was about to feel one of the sharp growing-pains of youth.

With the tide of canal-borne prosperity the fortunes of the James family rose, at least in material terms. William James's first marriage brought him twin sons, but ended in their mother's death only eight days later. His second wife, by whom he had a daughter, lived less than two years after their marriage. His third marriage was to Cath-

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erine Barber, who bore him seven sons and three daughters, outliving him by some twenty-seven years. The fourth of these sons was named Henry, and grew up to be a boy of "unusual activity and animal spirits," which made all the more tragic the accident which left him at thirteen seriously maimed for life. At the time he was a student at the Albany Academy, then comprising four teachers and some 130 boys. According to the account of a fellow-student, Mr. Woolsey Rogers, on summer afternoons the older students would meet Professor Henry (this is evidently an error, since the later-famous Joseph Henry did not take up his duties at the Academy until 1826, and the accident occurred not later than the summer of 1824) in the park in front of the Academy, where amusement and instruction would be given in balloon flying. A ball of turpentine-soaked tow supplied the motive power, and when the balloon caught fire and the tow-ball fell, it would sometimes be kicked about by the boys. One day when young James had a sprinkling of turpentine on his pantaloons, one of these balls was sent flying into the open window of Mrs. Gilchrist's stable. James, thinking only of a possible conflagration, rushed to the hayloft and stamped out the flames, but severely burned his leg. For two years of acute suffering the boy was confined to his bed, and the leg was twice amputated above the knee. He came successfully through the crude surgery of the eighteen-twenties, however, and after his long confinement got back into touch with the world once more, handicapped by an artificial limb, but temperamentally sound and hopeful. Henceforth he must live in cities, seeking ease of locomotion, a fact which accounts for the early and complete urbanization of both his famous sons.

The elder William James "appears to have had a good education," says Mrs. Russel Hastings in her James genealogy, "and was rather vain, it is said, of his beautiful handwriting." His library, when inventoried in 1833, was found to consist of standard works "old and much worn," with the exception of Rees's *Cyclopedia* in forty-seven volumes. "Their one-time owner did not however during his life concern himself vitally with the intellectual life of Albany so far as existing records show." But there can be no doubt that he desired the best available educational advantages for his sons. The elder of the twins, Robert, attended the Albany Academy before succeeding his father in the superintendence of his business; while the younger twin,

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who became the Reverend William James, graduated from Princeton in 1816, studied at the Princeton Theological Seminary and a Scottish university, and received the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity from Union College in 1854.

As for Henry James the Elder, he did not return to the Academy to complete his studies, but prepared for college at the hands of a private tutor. Two years of this work enabled him to enter Union College in September, 1828, at the age of seventeen, as a member of the junior class. It had not been suspected until recently that his father had had any previous connection with the College, much less that he had been its chief financial backer through loans from 1821 to 1826, and the "silent partner" in many of the bold transactions, lottery and otherwise, of the famous President Eliphalet Nott, then in his prime. About a year ago Mr. Codman Hislop of the Class of 1931 at Union College discovered in the attic of the College Library a box containing a bundle marked "William James Papers," which had been turned over to the College about a fortnight after his death in 1832. These yellowed documents reveal that as early as May, 1821, William James had loaned to Dr. Nott and the Trustees the sum of $56,000 for 10 years at 6½ per cent. In October, 1822, he advanced an additional $33,354 to enable Union to pay Hamilton College its share in the famous Literary Lottery, over which a dispute had arisen. These loans were secured by bank stock, bonds, and mortgages on real estate. But on May 23, 1823, the College, which then owed James the sum of $71,000, gave him a mortgage on all its campus lands, amounting to 67 acres near the Troy turnpike, together with "the New College Edifices and all the houses standing on said premises." Five years before Henry James the Elder entered Union, therefore, his father held a mortgage on virtually the entire physical assets of the College; and if any of Dr. Nott's precarious lottery ventures (the story of which remains to be written) had met with disaster, as they came perilously near doing, would have found himself the owner of a college in addition to his many other properties. By 1826 his loans to Union reached the sum of $100,000, a very considerable loan a century ago, but there are no records of transactions after January of that year, when James for some unknown reason withdrew as Dr. Nott's "angel" (at the legal rate of interest), and the obligations were discharged.

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Henry's physical disability did not bar him from active participation in the life of the College, where he became a member of Sigma Phi, which had just been founded there a year earlier. He had no difficulty with his courses, which were mostly in the classics and mathematics, but his completion of them seems to have been scarcely regular, except for the first and third terms of his junior year, when he was ranked thirtieth in a class of sixty-eight and twenty-fifth in a class of seventy-five, respectively. The grades of his senior year are fragmentary: in December he received 93 in attendance and his usual 100 in conduct, 80 in Biot's Optics and only 75 in Dr. Nott's famous course in Kames's Elements of Criticism. The subject Intellectual Philosophy is checked, but no grade is recorded. In February his name was omitted entirely; and although in July, 1830, he was credited only with German and Blackstone, he was graduated with his class. That this was not unusual may be gathered from a tart comment in the diary of the Reverend William Proudfoot, a Scotchman who visited Union (in search of missionary donations, which were not plentiful) in 1835:

> Every student at the end of the course (three years) takes the degree of A.B. Some of them who deserve it, get it of course, and they who do not deserve it, get it *Speciali Gratia;* but all get it after three years.

William James attended, as a distinguished guest, the meeting of the Faculty of the College which was held to pass upon his son Henry, among other candidates, for the bachelor's degree in July, 1830. A year later he was made a Trustee of the College, but apparently took no active part in the board's deliberations in the year which elapsed before his death. The dread cholera came to Albany in that summer of 1832, sweeping away 401 lives in two months. William James survived the epidemic, only to succumb in December of that year. Before his passing, theological differences had arisen between the strict Presbyterian father and two of his sons, one of them Henry, who had returned to Albany and began the study of law, possibly to comply with his father's wishes. "Fully sensitive to his children's claims upon his sympathy," the elder James, adamant in his most rigid Calvinism, "sacrificed even his affections for what he considered the true faith." In an elaborate will, disposing of an enormous amount of land, and designed to exact stringent proofs of both industry and orthodoxy

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from his heirs, he cut off Henry with a small annuity. But the will proved so involved that the courts did not sustain its complicated provisions; and the James fortune being exceeded in the State at that time only by that of John Jacob Astor, an abundance was provided for the widow and all nine surviving children. Henry James the Elder thus found himself, at twenty-one, leisured for life. He was free to devote his life to contemplation and conversation if he chose, for there was no pressure to engage in any business or profession to assure his daily bread.

The years immediately after his graduation, however, were spent in "brief ventures in law and business" in Canandaigua and Albany, apparently for the purpose of feeling his way toward a vocation. He finally decided to enter Princeton Theological Seminary in 1835. By the end of his second year he found his serious doubts concerning justification by faith involving him in arguments with his professors which tended to contaminate his fellow-students. He left the seminary, and in 1840 assured William James the philosopher a second grandfather with Irish blood by marrying Mary Walsh, the sister of a fellow-heretic at Princeton who had also turned his back upon the ministry. Consumed with theological cravings almost to the point of being, like Spinoza, a "God-intoxicated man," and destined to remain an incurable theologian, Henry thus early in his career found himself at odds not only with his father's brand of Presbyterianism, but with all institutional forms of religion. He never ceased to pour out his scorn upon the ecclesiasticisms of his time, and in return he was ignored, not refuted. There was no one to give battle to this "mystic of independent mind," as George Santayana has called him, and he remained "a hermit in the desert of business." As his son William remarked, his father's time, and his own also, "was anything but a theological age," and it left him "stranded high and dry." His "intensely positive, radical and fresh conception of God" was not understood, although it must be confessed that a share of the blame was his own, for what his friend William Dean Howells described as the "collective opacity" of his works, which even "the most resolute vision could not penetrate."

In his later years Henry James the Elder had little more use for colleges than for churches, for they seemed likely to cramp independence and originality, qualities which he prized above all others.

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So when his own talented sons came to consider the choice of a college, they found their father "extremely tepid" about any college whatever. Henry James the novelist describes his memories of a visit to Union with his brother and father, to "invoke the loyalty that our parent seemed to have dropped by the way"; but neither America's foremost psychological novelist nor her most imaginative psychologist attended any liberal arts college, although William graduated from the Harvard Medical School.

William James the Elder's theological scruples were not his only negative bequest to the most gifted of his sons; for the very adequacy of his share of the family fortune provoked an unanticipated reaction on the part of the young heretic. As Professor Ralph Barton Perry has said, "the state of comparative affluence in which he was born gave him an uneasy conscience, and led him to brood upon the injustice of the social system which had, as he thought, unduly favored him." To be a well-to-do American college graduate with neither a visible occupation nor the ambition to be a society "swell" —that in itself was exceptional enough to be disquieting. His qualms are reflected in a little-known address on "What Constitutes the State?" which he delivered before the Young Men's Association of Albany in December, 1845. In that lecture he declared:

> All the polities of civilization are constructed, not upon the fact of the essential or moral unity of the race, but upon that of its natural and adventitious distinction into rich and poor, powerful and weak; and consequently the guarantee of their rule is not simply in the conscience of their subjects attesting its righteousness, but in the strength of an armed police, or of overwhelming numerical majorities.

He hailed the coming of the day when we shall see

> those alone ruling who are best disposed to serve, those alone increased in goods who least value those goods for their own sake, and those alone honored who exact the least honor to themselves.

These moralistic and radical views of the economic and social order were fortified and sharpened by his association, from 1847 on, with that remarkable group of disciples of the French socialist Fourier which had gathered in New York City. James became an intimate of the circle which included Horace Greeley, Albert Brisbane, Charles

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A. Dana, Parke Godwin, George William Curtis, and George Ripley; and he wrote frequently for the *Tribune* and the *Harbinger*, as well as for the *Atlantic*. But his Fourierism, like his Sandemanianism and Swedenborgianism, was not an affair of institutionalized overt action, but a conviction held "in his own peculiar way"; so that he continued all his life long to derive from the inheritance left by his ultra-orthodox father the income which supported his heretical writings.

In Henry's children his twinges of conscience over inherited increments seem never to have reappeared. Consider for example the attitude of Henry James the novelist toward unearned riches, and the gulf which, described in his own words, separated his generation from that of his pioneer grandfather:

> Amid all the Albany issue there was ease, with the habit of ease, thanks to our grandfather's fine old ability—he had decently provided for so large a generation; but our consciousness was positively disfurnished, as that of young Americans went, of the actualities of "business" in a world of business. As to that we all formed together quite a monstrous exception; business in a world of business was the thing we most agreed (differ as we might on minor issues) in knowing nothing about. We touched it and it touched us neither directly nor otherwise.

It is idle to wonder what might have happened if the elder William's disinheritance of his son Henry had held good, and the latter had been obliged to make his own way in the world. Certainly his life of relative material ease did not give him entire peace of mind, but on the contrary tended to make him a rebel against the social as well as the theological standards of his father's world. It was in some respects a smug and cruel world, in which the devil was invited to take the economically hindmost, and where wealth was equated with virtue and poverty with vice, as Herman Melville, a fatherless lad of fifteen, was to discover in this same city of Albany in 1830-35. To be good was to be rewarded with earthly as well as heavenly "tokens of divine affection and esteem"; but to fail to prosper was to incur grave suspicions of being, in the common phrase of the period, "poor, shiftless, and vicious." Henry James the Elder perceived, although not from personal experience, some of the injustices which drove the author of *Moby Dick* to "abominate all honorable toils, trials and

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tribulations of every kind whatsoever." Thanks to William James the Elder's financial genius, Henry did not have to bury his omission to achieve "success" in bustling Albany by a sea voyage *à la* Melville. He traveled restlessly enough, but usually with his family, to which he was devoted. His sons testify that he was forever at home, content with his fireside, his friends, his books, and his theological wrestlings. That William James the philosopher and Henry James the novelist were largely the products of their father's diligent and unusual cultivation has long been recognized. But it is not always remembered that it was their pioneer grandfather, William James the Elder, who, not without reluctance, made all that possible.

Shall the South Accept Mediocrity?

EDWIN R. EMBREE

*President, Julius Rosenwald Fund**

THE statesman, Cato, in the Roman Senate day after day in season and out of season, used to exclaim, "Carthage must be destroyed!" With the same iteration, if not with the same eloquence, I go up and down the land crying, "Mediocrity must be destroyed in the South!"

Carthage was the enemy of Rome. The pall of its threat overhung Roman progress, menaced Rome's very life, though most Roman citizens didn't realize it. It was good form to refuse to admit the menace. The best families insisted that Rome was supreme, that nothing could touch her, that she had no dangerous enemies.

Mediocrity is the enemy of the South. It is pressing at our doors. Its pall overhangs our progress and threatens our very life. But like the Romans of old, most of us do not realize it. It is good form to

*An address to the Tennessee College Association.

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ignore it. Many of that quaint species, "professional Southerner," delight to insist that the South is supreme, always has been, and always will be; that it has no dangers—least of all the danger of mediocrity. "The South is the land of aristocracy," they say, "and by definition aristocracy—the realm of the best—cannot be mediocre."

The South, of course, has virtues unquestioned and unique. It respects life for its own sake. It has not bowed slavishly before industrialism—that stark force which has flattened life in other parts of the country to a treadmill grind after the dollar. And it has not allowed Puritanism, with its promises of bliss in a future world, to take all joy and zest out of earthly life—though the fundamentalists and the prohibitionists have done much in recent years to cramp the Southern tradition of full rich living.

There are signs of a renaissance in the South of fine living and high thinking. A group of authors centering in Nashville in a recent book, *I'll Take My Stand*, have attacked the Philistines and sworn devotion to the ideals of "the gentleman, the scholar, and the judge of good whisky." A meeting of Southern writers recently held in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, gave evidence that the soul and the mind of the South were still stirring. The meeting of the Tennessee College Association and similar meetings frequently held in other Southern states are evidence of devotion to things of the mind.

The South has a romantic heritage and the possibility of a glorious future. But the plain fact is that today the South is in a sorry plight. By every objective test that can be applied the South is far below other sections of the country in those items that make up a civilized state.

In material wealth every one knows the South is at a disadvantage. In crime and disease its record is worse than the national average. But worst of all, the same is true of those factors that concern culture and things of the mind—the realm in which we have hoped and pretended that the South was maintaining her unique position.

In literacy, the mere ability to read and write, according to the 1930 census, twelve states of the Old South are among the fourteen at the very bottom of the list, the Southwestern states of Arizona and New Mexico being the only competitors for this unenviable place. It is customary to blame the illiteracy record—and many other ills

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of the South—upon the negro. But this claim will not stand up. Figures for whites alone still leave the South far below all other sections.

Schools are an index of the effectiveness of a people in cultural progress. The South has made great strides in the development of its public schools during the past half century. But the United States Bureau of Education in its "Statistics of State School Systems" gives the South the lowest ranking in average days of attendance of pupils at school, in length of school sessions, in salaries of school teachers, in value of school property, and in general expenditures for school work.

Dr. S. H. Hobbs, Jr., of the University of North Carolina, in a recent study, found that the circulation of books and national magazines was lower in a dozen Southern states than in any other part of the nation.

These and a score of similar lists were recently reviewed in the *American Mercury* and a composite table made up of the states of the Union as to these "cultural means." In this master table thirteen Southern states hogged all but one of the fourteen lowest places.

I deny that any set of statistics can give a true picture of Southern culture. But objective findings, repeated over and over again and often prepared by Southerners themselves, must mean something. However bright Southern pupils may be, can they learn as much as Northern and Western children do if they attend school fewer months each year, are under poorly educated teachers on small pay, and study in inadequate buildings with less of proper educational equipment? Whatever the cultural heritage of the South, can this be maintained with inadequate libraries and without keeping in touch with current thought and progress through books and magazines and newspapers, without our fair share of great intellectual centers for study and teaching?

For two generations the South has been suffering from a process of natural selection which has drained off many of its ablest and most ambitious men to careers in the North and West. There is no lack of capable men born in the South, but to a shocking extent the men of ability and ambition emigrate to other parts of the country. Their notable achievements add to the eminence of those sections but give nothing to the prosperity, distinction, and enrichment of

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life of the South where they were born. The volume, *Who's Who*, shows a shocking difference between distinguished men born in the South and the small number who are making their careers there today. Of America's scientists starred for highest distinction in *Men of Science*, forty were born in twelve states of the Old South, but only thirteen are making their careers there.

I have one very specific suggestion to make: that the South build up at least one university of the very highest standard.

The chief sources of intellectual progress in the South as elsewhere must be the universities. While the South has a number of fairly good institutions, including three which are members of the American Association of Universities, there is not one which compares with two dozen leaders in the North and West in distinction of faculty and scholarly standards, to say nothing of physical plant and financial resources. Of them the best that can be said is, "They are pretty good for the South." What is required is that about a few of them it be said, "They are good, judged by any standard, national or international."

The Tennessee College Association, while it shows devotion to higher learning in a Southern state, is in itself an evidence of dissipation of resources over too many colleges. Twenty-seven institutions of higher learning are members of this Association. These of course include only the white. In addition the state has seven negro colleges. This is a much larger number than Tennessee can support at all adequately.

I took my college work at Yale and my mind naturally turns to a comparison of universities in Connecticut and in Tennessee. Connecticut, while a small state, is wealthy and densely populated. Yet there are in that state but five institutions of higher learning, compared to the total of thirty-four in Tennessee or to the twenty-seven members of this white association. Connecticut has a population of 1,600,000; Tennessee 2,600,000, with a white population of 2,150,000. Considering only the figures for whites, Connecticut has one college for every 320,000 inhabitants; Tennessee one for every 80,000. In addition Connecticut is much wealthier than Tennessee. A computation on the basis of wealth shows that there is in Connecticut about one and a half billion dollars in tangible property for each white college or university. Furthermore, one of these

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Connecticut colleges, Yale, is near New York and calls upon the wealth of that great city and of the whole country for its support, and three-fourths of its student body come from outside the State. The present multitude of colleges in Tennessee cannot hope to compete with those in Connecticut or in any other section where institutions are carefully planned with a view to regional needs.

The South has no lack of numbers of universities. Wise leadership and strategy would concentrate resources and brains now dissipated over a hundred mediocre colleges, would bring in outside wealth, which has always flowed freely to centers of distinction, regardless of sectional lines, and make possible a few institutions of supreme excellence.

Strategy would concentrate on sound scholarship and avoid the expensive and wasteful specialized schools and vocational courses. If a student has general education and common sense he can work out for himself the applications of knowledge. Training in the tricks and technics of special vocations; commerce, journalism, farming, the trades, the over-elaborated formalities of education—all these have run riot in all sections of America. The South can save tens of millions of dollars for sound general education if it refuses to squander its funds on these expensive fads which are more appropriate to the circus than to the university.

Fortunately there are at least five places in the South that have distinguished histories and possibilities of real greatness:

The University of Virginia; the North Carolina center including the State University and Duke; Atlanta, where Emory offers promise; Tulane in New Orleans; the Nashville group, notably Vanderbilt and Peabody.

If any one of these centers were brought to national eminence the intellectual leadership of the South would be transformed over night. Our brightest students could remain in the South for their advanced studies. Eminent Southern scholars and teachers could make their careers here instead of emigrating to the North and West. Science and scholarship would flourish in the Southern soil.

If the South is to regain intellectual leadership, the universities must point the way. The best brains of the South and a fair share of able men from other sections must be given an opportunity to study here and to carry on intellectual careers of distinction.

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Foreign Issues in the Presidential Campaign

NORMAN HAPGOOD

FAMILIAR is the saying in England that politics end at the water's edge. Not entirely true in England, it is far less true here. Politics indeed, at a critical point in contemporary history, decided for as much nationalism as possible instead of for as much international cooperation as possible. Woodrow Wilson was a constructive statesman of a high order, but as a politician he was poorly equipped. After taking the lead in building a new world-order, often dreamed of by individuals but never in fact soundly started, he endangered its success by his handling of the purely tactical aspects of the undertaking. He found for himself reasons for not taking to Paris, as part of the American delegation, the outstanding Republican figure, Elihu Root, or the head of the Republicans in the Senate, Henry Cabot Lodge, so that only one party was represented there; and he made this error worse by an appeal for the election of Democrats in the election of 1918, thus offending numberless thousands of Republicans who were ready to be patriotic and non-partisan. Wilson himself almost immediately recognized the magnitude of this second error, which he called a manifestation of the one-track quality of his mind. He should, of course, have asked for the election not of Democrats but of candidates committed to the acceptance of his great constructive work.

Wilson's errors alone were not enough to start the United States as the main obstacle to world-cooperation. Another element was the character of Henry Cabot Lodge. Before his quarrel with the President began he had been making emotional speeches in favor of world unity of effort and of our participation. He could hate, however, better than he could love, and he was willing to try to destroy the League because it was Wilson's League.

Such political trifles kept us from taking any responsibility for the

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success of what had been our own creation, and the other nations, with a communist Russia remaining outside with us, were compelled to carry on the task with difficulties that had not been expected. During this last July, speaking at the Institute of Politics at Williamstown, Dr. Inazo Nitobe, of the Japanese House of Peers, brought out the resulting situation clearly when he declared that the United States showed no consistency in blaming Japan for her policy in Asia and at the same time declining the responsibilities of League membership. "I hope," said he, "we shall not follow" the American example about Geneva, "but for once act as a teacher by faithfully staying in the League and setting an example of forbearance, self-abnegation, and willingness to cooperate." At the same time he pointed out that the two great powers who most affect Japan's relations to China, the United States and Russia, are the ones that most weaken Geneva. "Tokyo," he said, "is lonely in Geneva without Washington and Moscow. These cities cover a wide stretch in ideology, and if they can sit at a round table with London and Paris they can control the weather of the Far-Eastern sky. But in the absence of the United States and Soviet Russia, the twelve years Japan has sat there she has largely been a spectator of European events that have concerned her little." What the League of Nations had, with these difficulties, been able to do for a better understanding had been counteracted to a large extent, he said, by other forces, including high tariffs.

As we approach the November election, those of us who deem the relations to one another of the great nations the most pressing of all questions find ourselves under the obligation of deciding whether the outlook for peace will be best promoted by Republican success at the polls or by a change to the Democrats. As this article was being written in August, I found myself still undecided on this point, with the consequence that for the first time in my life I passed midsummer without knowing how my vote would be cast. One consideration, to be sure, large with me, has not an absolutely direct relation to this article, but its indirect relation is important. As far as I can make out, up to the date of writing, Mr. Hoover's wish is to find our way back to the civilization of 1928, with no fundamental changes in a set of traditions, aims, and conceptions that he deems the highest we can conceive. This attitude is illustrated by

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the statement, in his speech of acceptance, against any future control of agricultural production. From this angle my trend is toward Governor Roosevelt, as, leaving out of account other questions for the moment, he does have a conviction that to be safe and forward-moving we need to face changes that go very deep. The reason that this question of economic and social ideals at home needs to be mentioned in an article on the foreign issues of the campaign is that far-going social changes are much more likely to be worked out in a world of peace and international confidence than they are in a world dominated by nationalism, distrust, and armaments.

President Hoover has not a political mind, or the confidence in political action that comes to a man from being assured that he understands his subject. The behavior of an Al Smith, prompt, sure, and constructive, popular in instinct but ready to stand alone when need be, it would not be reasonable to expect of him. Nobody who was intended by heaven to be the leader of his party, and therefore when in office of his country, could in the first place have permitted a grotesquely exaggerated tariff bill to be worked out without a fight at a moment when we had changed from a great creditor nation to a great debtor nation; nor in the second place could he have signed such a bill when once it had come up to him. To think of Wilson or Cleveland as behaving in so irresponsible a manner is not possible.

The tariff and the foreign debts are related in a way that any high-school student should be able to comprehend. The tariff and peace are also to be considered together. That the tariff had much to do with the plunge downward of the United States in 1929 can plausibly be argued. It should always be remembered that the principal countries of Europe did more business in 1929 than in 1928. In no one of them did business fall off until August, and in most of them not until autumn, whereas business with us began to decline in the spring. The Tariff Act was introduced May 7, 1929, and originally passed the House of Representatives May 28, 1929. It passed the Senate, amended, November 24, 1929. Later, after conference, it passed the Senate June 13, the House June 14, and was signed by President Hoover on June 17, 1930. The advice of economists was overwhelmingly against this action; many business leaders gave similar warnings; and the press generally reported a further loss in stock values in this country of about five billion dollars immediately

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after the announcement by President Hoover that he would sign the measure as it finally passed Congress. This sudden drop was a dramatic indication that the country understood what folly was being indulged in by Congress and the President.

No rational tariff act is likely to be drawn up and passed without leadership, as without such leadership there will be a scandalous locality tariff grab such as was indulged in during the last session, when working out a revenue bill, by prominent Democrats in the Senate who call themselves progressive. Is Governor Roosevelt likely to prove such a leader? Just after his nomination he spoke of the need of "reasonable tariff protection" and added that we should "give agriculture the same protection that industry has today." Anybody who knows what this means is clairvoyant. President Hoover equalled it when he came out flatly, in his acceptance, for the theory that the farmer is helped by protection. Governor Roosevelt should have a great advantage, however, if this point is fought through, as he actually does believe in a scaling down and is committed to the platform of his party.

By the end of July Governor Roosevelt was ready to stress the relation between the foreign debts and the tariff, and between the tariff and the depression. He still stood for the protective principle, but limited it to a strict and impartial finding of costs of production. It is unfortunate that he does not talk about it in the tones of a Wilson or a Cleveland.

When Wilson was President Mr. Hoover favored our entry into the League. In the campaign of 1920 he urged the election of Harding as the surest way of getting into the League. Since then it has become clear to observers of competence, like Newton Baker and Al Smith, that we must get into the League, if we do, by the pressure of circumstances, not by campaigns, since in a political campaign the isolationists, with their scares, their patriotism, and their easy appeal to parochialism, are sure to win, and thus to increase our miseducation. But here I should say that, up to the beginning of August, Mr. Hoover had a heavy advantage over Governor Roosevelt. He had not done much to educate the nation, but he had kept Mr. Stimson in office, and that is very much, for Mr. Stimson has done more to prevent a World War from growing out of the successive troubles in Asia, involving Russia, China, and Japan, than any other man; and

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he has also in general cooperated with Geneva with boldness, considering the difficulties of a public opinion as ignorant and nationalistic as our own. Since then there have developed reasons for doubting that the President is really backing him.

On the intensely important question of debts it is clear that Governor Roosevelt, who in his Grange speech spoke of them as if he were yielding to pressure from Mr. Hearst, has a less favorable position than the Republicans, especially in view of the change in position of Senator Borah. In 1928, when there was far more reason to hope these debts could be paid, Governor Roosevelt had taken a position regarding them not unlike the stand taken by Alfred E. Smith during the current year. As Governor Roosevelt owes his nomination to Mr. Hearst it remains to see whether he means on this issue to stand by him, or, having the nomination, to represent the Wilson wing of the party, as kept alive in spirit by men like Newton Baker, Al Smith, Colonel House, John W. Davis, Frank Polk, Senator Hull, and Senator Walsh of Montana. With a person as impressionable as he is it will probably depend, if he is elected, on the make-up of his cabinet. If I knew who is, in case of Democratic victory, to be Secretary of State, I should have had no trouble in reaching my final decision.

When, last spring, the National Economic League asked us, its members, to vote on what are the paramount problems in the present depression the result was that first place fell to "reparations and war-debts." Reparations, as Mr. Hoover has energetically pointed out to Europe, is a European problem, and Europe has since then dealt with it so intelligently that even Senator Borah, as I have just hinted, has been stirred into helping to make the United States generous and rational instead of self-righteous and obstructive.

In short, if I decide to vote for Mr. Hoover, it will be in spite of his lack of social vision, and because he does something toward helping those relations which are a necessity if we are not to plunge into a war that will cause prostration far worse than has followed the four years of destruction from 1914 to 1918; if for Governor Roosevelt, it will be because hope of social progress is better in the Wilson wing of his party, and if he felt free to act he would choose to be an instrument in bringing such progress about.

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The Passing of American Individualism

LOUIS ADAMIC
Guggenheim Fellow

GENERAL discontent and boredom with life in America found much expression in some of our best literature during the last decade. The novelists protested throughout the 1920's. They were vague but very bitter in their complaints. They portrayed the ugliness of American cities and small towns, and sketched the shabbiness of human souls in America. But most of these novelists were superficial young men and women. Few tried or were able to get at the fundamentals, but instead strove to be "smart." Most of them sought escapes from the sordid realities.

Only a handful knew or suspected what was wrong basically. John Dos Passos, for one, was cognizant of the fundamental individualism; not the theoretical, idealistic individualism of Jefferson, Emerson, or Thoreau which was above economics, but the dog-eat-dog individualism as it developed in practice in our capitalistic democracy in this machine age; individualism under which only a very few rose to great economic and political power while the vainly aspiring masses were subtly terrorized and standardized. Sinclair Lewis seemed to come to the same idea in *Babbitt* and *Dodsworth* and, less clearly, in *Arrowsmith* and *Elmer Gantry*. Theodore Dreiser appeared to have a strong hunch in that direction in *An American Tragedy*. And this literature of discontent and social criticism had a wide popular appeal at the very height of prosperity.

Socially considered, the vital American literature of the last decade is primarily a record of the degeneration of individualism as a popular and working philosophy of life in the machine age. While they wrote their novels of discontent and unrest, the novelists, with such exceptions, of course, as Dos Passos and Upton Sinclair, were themselves still very much the individualists in their attitude toward the problems

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of America. They were not yet wholly cognizant of what it was all about, or just what they were doing themselves, but were a part of the uncrystallized, unconscious trend away from individualism as it had developed in America since the Industrial Revolution.

Since the crash of 1929, however, most of them have begun to see the situation clearly. They are beginning to get away from "smartness" and individualism, and from the inevitable material and spiritual results of individualism—chaos, hopelessness, and cynicism; and in the near future, while the country inevitably continues to flounder in chaos and misery in the largely vain relief measures, the vital American literature is almost bound to be one of social revolt expressed in terms of conflict. The revolt will be against economic individualism, a jungle philosophy in the machine age; and it will aim immediately for economic collectivism of one kind or another as a way out of present chaos and degradation and toward order or control of the machine. Ultimately the aim will be a changed people and a changed environment—a higher culture than is possible under the present system. The literature of discontent in the 1920's was a product of wide national discontent, but it also helped to augment and deepen that discontent. In the same way the literature of revolt expressed in terms of conflict in the near future will be a product among the suffering and sensitive people of the United States of a widespread impulse to revolt, as well as a means to stir more people to thought and action.

A year ago one of our most brilliant literary critics, Edmund Wilson, forsook literary criticism for social-economic criticism. Today his approach to problems and conditions is revolutionary. America's most effective writer, Sinclair Lewis, is looking ahead to a collectivist order in the United States. Theodore Dreiser has published an enormous pamphlet entitled *Tragic America* in which he declares himself in favor of revolt and collectivism. It is an awkward, blundering postscript to *An American Tragedy*, but a significant book. It represents the sudden emotional and intellectual conversion of an extreme and influential individualist, behaviorist, and fatalist from muddled philosophizing to action and hope, to the ideal of order. *Tragic America* doubtless is a forerunner of many such books in the immediate future; only of course they will be better books than Mr. Dreiser can write, and therefore more effective. But Mr. Dreiser is at least a

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year behind with his tome, for he is a product of that impulse to revolt that has been alive in large and growing masses of the American people throughout 1931. He has merely attempted to articulate that impulse.

There is no question that, as the slump continues, the discontent of vast numbers of people is approaching a point where they are liable to heave up politically in a way that many persons are almost afraid to imagine. Ask any intelligent and informed banker and he will probably tell you the same thing. What is the motivating force behind the hysterical attempts of big-business men who are trying to figure out some "plan" whereby the economic life of the country might be socialized and stabilized under capitalism? It is the fear of the people's upheaval under the leadership of some potent new demagogue, likely to appear at almost any moment. The upheaval may not occur for four, eight, twelve years, or longer, at least not in any big way; but well informed people everywhere know that it will occur unless things are straightened out, and there is a growing body of intelligent persons in universities, editorial chairs, business offices, shops and labor unions, and even in politics and Wall Street, who incline to the hope or fear that, although another period of prosperity is possible, things cannot be effectively patched up in time.

The upheaval, in all likelihood, will not be an attempt at proletarian revolution led by the Communist Party but something much more, for class lines are breaking down at a swift rate. The middle class of 1928 already is psychologically much closer to the underdog than to the upperdog. In a West Virginia coal town last year business men of the Babbitt type took an active part in a strike on the miners' side! The so-called petty bourgeoisie are shedding their class snobbishness and individualistic philosophy. Four years ago, when still more or less prosperous, many of them voted as Catholics or anti-Catholics, or as snobs who did not want the Smiths in the White House. Now the forces of depression are making of them conscious economic units and, in their diverse plights, they are beginning to feel that present-day chaos is due to destructive and unmanageable individualism in business and industry; that their own future is inextricably bound with the future of every other human economic unit in the United States; and that that future cannot amount to a row of pins except under some sort of collectivist scheme.

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This process of making former individualists into collectivistic economic units goes on at a swift rate, and for many reasons:

(1) Unemployment and other relief measures are inadequate and ineffective.

(2) The buying power of the masses is not increasing, and cannot increase rapidly.

(3) The farm crisis is utterly insoluble along individualistic lines. Years before the current crisis millions of farmers knew that.

(4) People with money know that the yield per dollar of invested capital was declining for years before the depression and is certain not to pick up in their lifetime, for most of them are elderly folk. So, individualist-like, they "hoard," for otherwise the immediate future is too risky in the face of the probable low returns at best.

(5) Mr. Hoover's "evil influences from abroad" are bound to continue with unfavorable effects on our domestic situation. It will be at least a year before American investors will know exactly how many billions of their money sunk in Europe and South America are doomed.

(6) Bank failures go on in spite of the much advertised measures to prevent them.

(7) There were 24,000 business failures in 1930 and 26,000 in 1931.

(8) Local, state, and federal taxes of all kinds are doubling and trebling—another damper on the old individualistic initiative.

(9) Some of our largest municipalities, run by old-time "rugged individualist" politicians, are bankrupt or on the verge of bankruptcy.

A friend, formerly of the Northwest and now living in Detroit, a man of intelligence, but one who hitherto had never had any vital interest in social and economic questions, writes me:

> Last summer we lost $15,000 in a small bank. Then the big bank which took over the little bank's affairs also went smash! In Tacoma my father is laid off for the first time in nine years, and his sawmill outfit has shut off credit in the company store. My two brothers are barely existing in the wilds of Idaho. In Gary, Indiana, my wife's home town, nine banks have smashed in the last year and a half, two of them since January first of this year. The only one left is the steel company's bank. You can imagine what that means to her people. In Hammond, Indiana, there isn't a single bank left open, and the other day the big shops there shut down, laying off all their men. Here in

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Detroit the Mayor has slashed six millions from the budget, to hold the city's credit together. No wonder he calls his welfare program "famine relief."

And here is the statement of a Vassar senior as it recently appeared in a New York paper:

I have come to believe that it is up to college students to direct the revolution which may clear up the present period of economic and social confusion. It is up to us to decide if Socialism or Communism or a planned capitalistic economy will prevail.

I am going into the labor movement when I graduate in June. I may be a Communist by that time. And many of my classmates feel the same. Girls in college are not secluded from the economic crisis. Their fathers go into bankruptcy, and their friends drop out of college because of the depression. . . .

I am told that in many colleges the most popular classes nowadays are those in economics and in contemporary civilization. It seems as if our students are beginning to "care."

Something is brewing in the United States, and that fact you will take either as a promise or a threat, depending on your immediate station in life and your point of view. Perhaps the darkness of the times is making visible a few stars in the sky.

These stars are the living ideas current in America's economic and social thinking today. Most of them are still in the process of being thought out, none yet clearly formulated or articulated, some still more or less swimming in space, speculation, doubt, and uncertainty. They are current in Wall Street as well as in the breadlines. Gradually they will crystallize and create or attract leaders. Perhaps such rather impossible characters as Governor "Alfalfa Bill" Murray of Oklahoma and Father Cox of Pittsburgh are coming forth now to prepare the way for intelligent leadership due to emerge in the near future. The old leadership is done for. For men and women of quality, ability, and daring the present situation offers opportunities almost unparalleled in American history.

In the crystallization of America's economic and social ideas Russia, of course, is playing a vital rôle. Americans' interest in that attempt is intense, as witness the popularity during the last two years of such books as those by Maurice Hindus and *New Russia's Primer* and the lectures of Louis Fischer. In response to this interest such powerful newspapers as *The New York Times* devote scores of

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columns weekly to the Five-Year Plan; and what is more, most of this publicity is favorable to Russia and the collectivist economic principles. Thus, swiftly, Russia and collectivism are being "sold" to the American people.

Recently an elderly manufacturer in the Middle West made this remark:

> Communism or something like it, under one name or another, is the coming thing in this country—not in my lifetime, for I'm sixty-five years old, but in my son's surely. Farming, for instance, is already half-communistic in this country. Maybe the trouble with it is that it's only half and not entirely communistic.

Lately I have been hearing all sorts of startling expressions of ideas and half-ideas. I mention a few:

(1) There will be a dole in the United States, dole for unemployed labor and for bankrupt business; but not for long. The American people are not the English or the German people. They are more impatient. Frustration is not for them. The economic "push" is too strong in this country. Millions of unemployed will be unwilling to live on a dole for half a decade, as the unemployed in some of the European lands have done. Our unemployed, even if their number does not increase, will fight against the dole, once they realize that if the present system continues they will stay on the dole for the rest of their lives.

(2) Business cannot be stabilized under the present economic and political system of the United States. Capitalism means, possibly, another boom, followed by another slump, probably a worse one.

(3) It is probable that, in an effort to stabilize business, financial and industrial interests will attempt a fascist régime in the United States. Such a régime will be motivated by fear, not intelligence. If it succeeds in establishing itself, its life will be short. Fascism is of necessity ninety per cent repression and ten per cent concession. The basic psychology of the American people which goes back to the Revolution of 1776 is unfavorable to such a scheme. To know that a long fascist régime is impossible in America one must know the country in its totality, its rhythms, material resources, limitations, history, racial components, historic hopes and aspirations, and the patterns that all these things have woven in the national mind.

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(4) The Constitution and the form of government of the United States were splendid things in 1776 and for decades thereafter. Today we are in the machine age. History moves. Our present form of government and its constitution are obsolete in theory and ineffective in practice. Our government is top-heavy and has developed into an enormous parasite on the energies of the people. The current economic debacle is a proof of its deficiencies. To meet our present and future needs and problems we must have a new form of government. We must do away with the present system of geographical representation, which forces industries and other groups to maintain lobbies; work out a system of collectivist councils directly representing industries, including farming; and create a central authority, central intelligence for all economic and industrial activities in the country.

(5) With our immense natural resources and superb mechanical equipment, along with our famed organizing abilities and dexterity in shops and mills, we can produce all we need and want—chickens, pots, silk stockings, cars, garages—with all of us working five hours daily five days a week. And by working less we shall accomplish more. We can then devote ourselves to the problems of leisure and culture.

(6) Our whole present-day system calls for a thorough revaluation by the American nation. Russia is now engaged in solving her problem of production. Our production problem was solved at least fifteen years ago. Since then our chief problem has been the distribution of wealth. For a while some of us thought that capitalism could work out a solution of this problem. We obviously were wrong. And this is the point from which we must proceed in our revaluation of the whole system.

These are, I believe, the only living and vital ideas dealing with America's future and holding out a promise. They seem to be geared to history in the sense that the ideas which motivated the American Revolution of 1776 were geared to history, to a great world democratic movement. They are a projection, a continuation of the same world movement—liberation of the masses and of man's spiritual forces. I believe that the events of the next two or three decades will show that, historically, New Russia is to America of the machine age what France of the eighteenth century was to America of Washington and Jefferson; and that, ideologically, Marx is to the machine age what Rousseau was to the eighteenth century.

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Would You Go Exploring?

HENRY FIELD

Field Museum of Natural History

TO look across a stretch of land never before seen by the eyes of a white man, to uncover the treasures of another race and another civilization after they have lain hidden and forgotten for thousands of years, to add a fragment to the sum of human knowledge; these present the thrill of the unknown and are experiences not to be compared with many others. And in this day of complex civilization, with its increasing tendency toward standardization of knowledge and experience, the charm of the unknown, the never-before-experienced, is drawing hundreds into the fields of science and exploration.

The longing to search out the past, to discover the new, is one of the most healthy and valuable tendencies of man. It has brought our civilization to its present status. There is still a tremendous field in which it may be realized.

To those young men of America who are turning their eyes seriously toward exploration there is much to be said, and the fundamental necessity is a thorough scientific training which will lead to the development of accurate observation.

A choice of sciences must first be made. Anthropology in its widest scope, zoology, botany, geology, and geography; each has many branches and many fields; each offers limitless opportunities. In order to accomplish anything of consequence, and to appreciate to their fullest the opportunities which exploration offers, thorough training in one subject or another is essential. The man who goes unarmed with a basic knowledge of his subject blunders, passes over, or destroys the most useful evidence. Therefore before the thrill of

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the experience may be enjoyed serious study and preparation are necessary.

I believe that every student who expects to visit the still unmapped regions of the world's surface should take a course at the new School of Geography at Harvard in order to familiarize himself with map-making and surveying. An elementary knowledge of radio, including the transmission and reception of Morse code signals, is of general value; while the reception of time-signals from Arlington, Berlin, or Bordeaux is invaluable in calibrating chronometers. One must also be a good photographer, capable of obtaining results under conditions which are far from ideal. While on an expedition one must acquire the habit of writing detailed notes on all phases of one's work. Nothing should be trusted to memory. A few crowded hours or temporary sickness will often drive beyond recall details which it had seemed impossible to forget.

I would advise a man to choose carefully the subject most interesting to him, taking into consideration all that the pursuit of it will involve, and then to obtain the best possible training. The graduate schools of the United States are well equipped in the various fields, the libraries are filled with authentic material, and the men who have attained success in their chosen fields are invariably eager to offer encouragement and sound advice to the serious student. Actual contact with those who have made progress in the particular line of work to which a young student means to devote himself is of inestimable value. Such contact will help him to realize, as no printed word can, that half of the inspiration of exploration and discovery will be lost unless his training and study have taught him to appreciate them.

In this connection it is wise to point out that many a man, possessing a desire for adventure, has found it impossible to join a scientific expedition because he has had no special training for the job. The reputable institutions, which send out expeditions every year to remote corners of the earth, choose scientists and men whose particular qualifications will enable them to contribute something of value toward the accomplishment of the appointed task. No man is given a place merely because he is a nice fellow who wants some fun and is willing to work.

Explorers going into the field enjoy the thrill of adventure, the

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excitement of facing danger, the inspiration of discovery—the thrill of the unknown! And in addition they frequently experience very real hardships, long hours of monotony, and exhausting work. These latter considerations form the greater part of the experience, and must be anticipated if one is not to suffer severe disappointments.

All of the natural sciences are surprisingly interrelated, and a broad scientific knowledge encompassing subjects akin to one's own is useful. Some knowledge of camp lore, woodcraft, and first aid are often extremely practical when one must depend on one's own resources far from a civilized town. Moreover, for example, in unexplored territory valuable anthropological or geological data may present themselves to an explorer whose first business it is to collect rare plants. To have at least an elementary knowledge of these other subjects may enable a man to observe and interpret those things which would otherwise be meaningless. Textbooks in every subject should be kept. Familiarity with their contents makes it easy to obtain information from them when needed.

In conclusion I may say that there is small chance that wealth will come to an explorer. But he will enrich his own mind, and contribute to man's knowledge of himself and the world about him. These facts make his life satisfying and fruitful. In addition he may experience the incomparable thrills of traveling across trackless desert or through the unbroken jungle; of finding strange men in strange lands and studying their history; of uncovering the remains of men long dead, and their homes and possessions. These and many other adventures reward the explorer who has equipped himself to face the thrill of the unknown.

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Can the U. S. A. Flout Spanish-American Sentiment?

CARLETON BEALS

THE vessels of the world slide through the great silent gates across the ten-mile Panama Canal Zone, with a precision and purpose that defy the anarchy of surrounding marsh, jungle, and igneous rock. On either side of that straight cut, human life is worth little, preyed upon by fever and death. Within that narrow zone, human mortality is less than in most places within the United States itself. There are no waste motions in Panama. Every cement surface, every steel lever, each trim barrack, definitely contributes to the functioning of an enterprise supremely symbolic of America's collective will, of our desire for national unity, self-sufficiency, and international security—an enterprise almost as far removed from the anarchy of our native productive methods as from the tangle of vegetation immediately about.

Four hundred miles further north is another great trans-Isthmus waterway: that of Lake Nicaragua and the San Juan River, which, save for a low range of Atlantic coast hills, goes from ocean to ocean. But man's hand has scarcely touched it; jungle and death still rule in unshaken majesty. A fifty-year-old steamboat leaves a rickety pier at Granada and paddles painfully across Lake Nicaragua. In San Carlos an Indian blowing a conch-shell announces the departure of the scow down the San Juan, and the traveler tumbles in among bales, boxes, sewing machines, pigs, and muddy banana suckers. En route, between high jungle walls, he risks his life in boiling rapids, is eaten up by mosquitoes, rubs shoulders with people still scaling from small-pox. He may wait a week in ramshackle Greytown before the propitious moment arrives to cross the never-dredged harbor bar.

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So dangerous is the crossing, many a boat has capsized, precipitating crew and passengers into the shark-infested waters.

To anyone who has traveled both isthmuses, any measures tending to abolish conch-shells and mosquitoes and extend man's intelligent control over nature's forces would seem justified.

We seized Panama by force and fraud, trusting to the good results to justify our methods. Certainly, despite Latin America's constant harping upon this imperialistic aggression, no Latin-American country has boycotted the Canal, no vessel and no trade has willingly chosen the Straits of Magellan; many a Latin-American propagandist has passed through the Canal he constantly stigmatizes as a crime against international justice. Practically the Canal is a success; it could not be otherwise. But that from a moral, a political, and an international point of view it might have been a better canal, will hardly be contested.

Spain dreamed of building a canal at Panama. As early as 1529, the King was told: "We have not found the passage, we must cut it." Latin America dreamed of building it. Bolivar, early in the nineteenth century, called the Amphictyonic Congress at Panama, and a permanent assembly would construct a canal to become universal American soil. But the Canal was never to become a symbol of Western Hemisphere unity; it was to become a symbol of anarchic world commerce, of imperial force and material supremacy; a symbol not of justice but of power. For when Roosevelt took Panama from the "corrupt pithecoid community" known as Colombia, by force and deceit, he was wounding, not merely Colombia, but Latin America; he was affirming that the strength of a nation resides in the iron shard, not in its moral relations with its neighbors. He chose the old immemorial way of imperial aggression; he built a canal and increased commerce, but he did not thereby contribute to the building of a new cooperative association of Western nations or to the building of new methods of international comity.

For four centuries Spain and the Latin American countries dreamed of building a canal; Roosevelt built it in a day. The locks lift smooth in Panama; boats slide through gracefully. Only low-draft scows can navigate the San Juan in Nicaragua; a rich region is left unexplored; merchandise can scarcely be transported; travel is not a convenience, merely an adventure. Nicaragua cannot build

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the canal. It is doubtful if Latin America has the initiative or technique to build it. And the machine age has little time for metaphysics or idealism, except when they can by fortuitous circumstances be reconciled with dollars.

But for political reasons and the influence of people with much to gain from the revalidation of the old Lesseps bonds, steel knuckles might today be lifting mighty vessels across Nicaragua, instead of across Panama. The Nicaraguan route would bring our two coasts two days closer than Panama; and in these bustling days two days can decide the fate of nations.

The day of a Nicaraguan canal will soon be here. Increasingly we are warned of the danger in case a slide or other catastrophe should put Panama out of business at a critical war moment. Increasingly we are reminded of the great inland lake which would safely harbor all the vessels of the world, but particularly our own war fleet. Last year's appropriation for a new engineering survey of this route had only one meaning: The plans for the new canal are under way.

What will be the basis of the new canal? The cut can be made—more easily than at Panama. Capital, labor, engineering knowledge will turn the trick. We will build it for ourselves, and incidentally, for the world. But on what moral, political, and international basis will it rest? Will it be a child of force and fraud as was Panama? Will it cut a scar across the Western hemisphere, or will it bind together loose ligaments into firmer fraternity? Will it promote commerce and war? Or will it promote commerce and peace?

The world had to have Panama. It can do without Nicaragua for a long time to come. Perhaps now, while there is still time, we can prepare and build a better canal than at Panama, a canal which will be a symbol of international unity rather than of our own immediate necessities.

To do this, say the Latin Americans, we shall have to right a few old wrongs and change our future policy. For as we now project the canal, its one basis is marine violence; its pseudo-legal basis, the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty, was wrenched from Nicaragua in a scandalous manner by marine politics, by enforced fraudulent elections and a puppet government, and was adopted against popular wrath behind closed doors surrounded by American bayonets. Can we successfully answer these charges?

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The Hispanic American world has already written thousands of pages of condemnation of the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty; it will write many more. The Hispanic American world, well aware we intend to build a canal across Nicaragua, is not content with the manner in which we intend to build it. They feel this is an international affair over which other nations should exercise joint control. They have never forgotten the dream of Bolivar regarding Panama; they feel that the canal, whoever builds it, is the concern of the entire hemisphere.

At the present moment a significant symposium instigated by Charles Thomson, Latin American secretary of The Fellowship of Reconciliation, is being carried on by Joaquín García Monge, editor of *Repertorio Americano*. This symposium, which deals specifically with the canal, has been contributed to by intellectual leaders all over Latin America and Spain: university presidents, writers, journalists, professors, lawyers, editors, diplomats, and a feminist. It represents the general attitude of our southern neighbors toward the proposed undertaking.

Repertorio Americano is in many ways the most significant magazine in all Latin America. Nearly four years ago I stepped into the National Library of Costa Rica, to find it the best run institution of its kind I had ever encountered anywhere in the Latin world. The Director, Señor Monge, is also the editor of *Repertorio*. The ideal of the publication is to serve as a beacon light for all Hispanic American culture; not the expression of any one country, but a clearing house of ideas for a continent and a half. The twenty-three volumes of its existence worthily reflect this aim. It is a tolerant publication, open to all opinions; but it especially welcomes to its pages the most enlightened writers, and has ever been a defender of good causes. Machado, Moncada, Gómez, Leguía, Uriburú, the ruthless violators of human decency, the spineless puppets of intervention, the time-servers everywhere, have not fared well in its pages.

The findings of this symposium should be known to the American public.

With the exception of one or two writers who side-step issues because of political convenience, such as the Mexican lawyer, T. Esquivel Obregón, the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty is universally condemned, sometimes with bitterness, but usually in a rather philo-

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sophic spirit. The Chilean writer, Victor Valdivia, holds up the example of the Suez Canal, its construction, control, and operation, as a worthy example to be followed. In contrast with what happened in Panama and is now happening in Nicaragua he suffers a double sorrow:

> Not so much for the spirit of Yankee rapine, marines taking what they desire in America in a way not done with African Negroes, but because there are found in some republics, shameful and low governors who, for three million dollars, deliver . . . concessions in perpetuity; and others who still permit in their territory this comedy of foreign marines assassinating those who oppose their designs of rapacity and theft, which today not even the Chinese nor the Hindostans or even any semi-savage country permits.

This writer, as do all the others, reminds his readers that the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty was invalidated by the Central-American Court of Justice (a body of final jurisdiction we created and then destroyed when it became inconvenient to us) for its violation of the rights of Costa Rica and Salvador. He suggests now that those two countries promote a campaign against the treaty in all Latin America and carry the matter to the Hague for adjudication.

According to the Rector of the University of Quito, Ecuador, this "insulting" treaty is "illegal and entirely irritating." It represents the injury of the sovereignty of a weak by a powerful country; that to have given three million dollars for "the sovereignty of Nicaragua, for part of its territory, for the Gulf of Fonseca, and for the exclusive right to construct a canal, is as absurd as to wish to buy New York for three cents and as infamous as the sale of the Divine Master for thirty pieces of money."

The Nicaraguan writer Solomón de la Selva points out that the Government making this treaty had no true legal existence, since it was put into power by fraudulent marine elections; he cites Smedley Butler regarding the non-popular character of the plebiscite; and he charges that the American Senate and the Nicaraguan Congress ratified two different treaties, the latter body being utterly deceived regarding certain provisions of the treaty as accepted by the United States; that in any case no canal can be legally constructed until a new treaty definitely defines the manner in which this shall be effected.

Professor Torres Rioseco, a Chilean professor at the University

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of California, after dealing with the illegality and unjust nature of the treaty, produces the rather dogmatic doctrine that "no part of our Latin American territory can pass to the hands of foreigners without the moral sanction of all the countries of our continent," and suggests that the treaty be submitted to a Court of Arbitration composed of representatives of Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, and Chile.

Professor Benjamín Fernández y Medina, an Uruguayan writer and jurist, establishes the competency of the Central Court of Justice and suggests, in view of the obvious nullity of the treaty, that Nicaragua return the money paid, that the other countries affected should warn Nicaragua not to permit the construction of the canal in accordance with such a treaty, and that in case this warning is not heeded all steps indicated by international law should be taken. If the United States blocks this, the other Latin American countries should support some leader, such as Sandino, to overthrow the existing government and substitute for it one "more jealous of its sovereignty and the fundamental laws and interests of the country."

Jacinto López, the editor of *Reforma Social*, while condemning the treaty, declares that no moral pressure will influence Washington:

> Washington well knows that American public opinion and universal public opinion condemn its policy of unilateral and absolute control of the interoceanic canal, both in Nicaragua and in Panama. But this makes no difference to Washington. What matters to Washington is its policy, the triumph of its policy, inseparable from the brutal and barbarous acts of force. . . . The policy in Nicaragua is the same as in Panama. A great crime is the base of the position acquired by the United States in Panama. A great crime is the base of the position . . . acquired in Nicaragua, the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty has condemned Nicaragua to perpetual . . . military occupation by the United States and annuls the independence, liberty, and security of the rest of the Central American countries.

Manuel Ugarte, the famous Argentinian, remarks that the only valid treaty could be consummated with Sandino, who alone defends the sovereignty of his country. But "right has nothing to do with these cases"; Latin America can expect no salvation except by its own efforts—conciliation "between the victim, stretched on the ground, and the victimizer who continues dealing out blows" is absurd. But "the day when we determine to be strong, we shall be." The real blame is with Latin America for tolerating servile governments.

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What is the alternative program of our Latin American critics? Nearly all agree that all Central America should be consulted regarding the canal. The Ecuadorian writer, Jorge Carrera Andrade, considering the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty null and void, proposes that all Central American countries agree that no one of them will alienate territory without the prior consent of the others. If necessary, the Confederation of Central America, now made impossible by the existing treaty, should be recreated. In the construction of the canal the political and economic aspects should be separated. The work should be undertaken by a private industrial company; and after the time required to have made the enterprise profitable, it should be thrown open freely to the commerce of the world, costs to be borne by freight, not by passenger, ships. All Central American countries cooperating with the constructing company should have economic control; political control should be exercised by Nicaragua, subject to League of Nations' supervision; battleships to be barred. The League of Nations' labor legislation should govern construction and operation.

Guillermo Díaz Plaja, the Spanish writer, biographer of Ruben Darío, points out that the canal as projected is purely an expression of American imperialism, though it is a necessity for the entire continent. He claims it should be a Hispanic enterprise, guaranteeing the maximum independence of the canal, that it might serve as a protection for now-menaced Spanish America.

The opinions of Professor Brenes Mesén, Costa Rican Professor at Northwestern University, are utterly incoherent and contradictory, revealing the typical isolationist attitude which would nullify hope of joint action with Latin America in such an undertaking. While the canal should belong to a federated continent, which he admits would result in every sort of intrigue, his own country, Costa Rica, should carefully refrain from participating.

Valdivia urges construction by an international company, the countries most interested to receive part of the benefits. These same countries should guarantee the utilization of the proper percentage of native employees. In any case a new treaty with all of Central America is essential. No fortifications should exist. If all the countries were represented problems would be "arranged with justice and equity, not with rapine and conquest, in the shadow of bayonets."

Señor Arroyo insists that it should be constructed by all nations

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who have capital to contribute, that even if constructed by purely American enterprise, it should have pacific purposes. Nicaragua's independence and the rights of all the other Central American nations should be safeguarded. If the new canal is for war, it will die stillborn; all fortifications should be forbidden, all countries to have equal access. No attempt at reconciliation with the United States regarding a modification of the project should be thought of while the marines remain in Nicaragua.

Salomón de la Selva, the Nicaraguan, desires the canal to be constructed by all the New World countries including Canada. At the same time they should jointly take over Panama, both to be administered by a special joint commission. Construction costs would be borne by bonds issued by all the countries. In case of war the canal would be much more inviolable because all would have interest in preserving it. All war traffic should be prohibited. If the canal were owned exclusively by the United States, the countries surrounding the canal would involuntarily become sufferers in war time; inevitably they would be made the scene of military actions. The canal should serve peace, and never become a provocation for armed conflict. In the construction, since many Negro laborers would have to be imported, simultaneous education should make possible their proper assimilation into the existing Hispanic culture.

Alfonso Fabila, the Mexican writer, declares pessimistically that there is no use proposing any modification or any new project. Latin America must endure its state of slavery until the hour of justice arrives with the inevitable decline of America's power, foretold by the very injustice it is now perpetrating.

Professor Torres Rioseco is equally pessimistic—the United States will accept no treaty limiting its freedom of action, even less will permit joint action with other countries.

Jacinto López, so pessimistic about the good faith of the United States, sees the problem, not as that of a canal, but of political honesty in Latin America. Until honest independent governments appear to stand up for their rights it is futile to propose measures for constructing the canal on the basis of international equity.

Elena Torres, the well-known Mexican feminist, quotes Gissing—"The projected Nicaraguan canal will be another failure for the United States: a moral failure, an economic failure, a strategic fail-

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ure." The United States, she declares, can easily torture Hispanic America from Mexico to Panama, but

> The final triumph, we do not know whose it will be; the system of insecurity and deceit cannot triumph definitively, and the United States may be elaborating her own ruin.

Germán Arciniegas, a Colombian diplomat, points out that Central America does not wish to shut out progress, but it does wish to have its international integrity respected. "Canals, canals, in order that the vessels of the whole world may cross them freely, open roads, are things that all desire. But war bases, captive peoples, violations of races, this we of the South repudiate." He points out the commercial field opening in Latin America, and urges a renunciation of assaults; and speaking directly to us declares: "If you invade our lands you will see us conspire against you till the last century. Though we lack power, we do not lack spirit."

Benjamín Fernández y Medina sums up the problems thus:

> The Nicaraguan Canal can be built and can serve the great interests of the United States and the world without the necessity of maintaining the vexing conditions of the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty and, on the contrary, giving to the world an example of respect for sovereignties, which more than the letter of the Kellogg pact can contribute towards instilling confidence in the peoples, which is still lacking, in the maintenance of peace and in the supreme ideal of international relations based on justice.

And the great Cuban patriarch, Enrique José Varona, adds simply: the canal should serve for the "exchange of ideas, men, and products," an instrument of peace, in no way an instrument of war.

However detailed suggestions may differ, the criterion of these Latin American thinkers is singularly uniform. The preliminary steps towards the construction of the canal are as opprobrious from the standpoint of international justice as in the case of Panama; the unjust treaty wrenched from Nicaragua, or rather from a bankrupt and non-representative government held in place by American bayonets, and which violated the rights of adjacent countries, should be modified. The canal itself should be undertaken in conjunction with other countries, either by private enterprise or by joint effort; it should serve to promote rather than to injure international peace and

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friendship; and proper protection should be given to the labor utilized on the canal, labor which should be representative of all the countries concerned. All are agreed that none of these ideals will be promoted by the canal as now projected, that it will represent merely a militaristic aggression against Central America, Latin America, and the world.

As might be expected, there is no indication that these writers appreciate the specific problems of the United States; just as for most American writers there is little effort to appreciate the problems the canal would create for Hispanic America, and particularly for Central America. But that Latin America has considerable grounds for complaint there is no doubt.

We can build Nicaragua as we built Panama, but though we ignore the international problems involved, we shall by no means have eliminated them. Undoubtedly we have special interests at stake in the construction through Nicaragua of a second canal. But undoubtedly we also have special interests involved in our relations with Hispanic America. Perhaps it is not half so important that we build another canal as that we establish our honesty in the eyes of Latin America; that we help create in the world a greater spirit of justice towards other nations by example, not empty pacts. If we, the most powerful nation on earth, fail to do that, other nations cannot be expected to do it. The mere example of Nicaragua immediately robbed the Kellogg pact of its moral importance, and hence its ultimate effectiveness—made it a meaningless scrap of paper. We could well afford to make the Nicaraguan canal a joint enterprise and thus help solidify the continent, for the ideal of Bolívar, greater than that of Roosevelt, will prevail in the end.

If the canal, instead of being founded upon injustice, becomes a new expression of international cooperation, Latin America would probably go more than half way in recognizing and backing our needs for national security.

Here is an excellent opportunity for us to reveal our ultimate purposes in world affairs.

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Literary Technique in Practice

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ALONG with interstellar space and disintegrated atoms the artist now finds himself under scientific scrutiny. To learn what makes his wheels go round the scientists are determinedly taking him down and laying out his minute secret pins and gadgets, indifferent to the possibility that they may be unable to reassemble him again—and rightly indifferent. Only the sentimentalist will say that a comprehension of the intricacies and dexterities of any art must lessen appreciation of it or reduce the artist's hope of future growth. Creators, audiences, teachers, can only gain by such increase of knowledge, teachers particularly. A chart of the mechanism of genius—what a boon to anyone hoping to guide young artists! And what a cry of protest would greet an attempt to use it!

Since classic times—perhaps since the first oral historian tried to instruct youth in the race legend—there seem to have been two theories of art. The inspirational or Dionysian view was espoused by Socrates, who asserted the folly of attempting a dogmatic exposition of anything, arguing that artistic labors were divine, and thus beyond definition or measurement. The first statement of the scientific or Apollonian approach we attribute to Aristotle, upon whose definite principles of logic and esthetics artists and teachers were supposed to base a sound technical practice.

Which of these classical theories is sound? Neither, manifestly. The works of genius result from a complicated yet unified, highly integrated nervous response to the creative impulse; they involve both logic and "inspiration." Psychology has taught us that much. It has also assured us that literary dexterities, like all other dexterities, are learned. Our present difficulty is to persuade the inspirationalists, the Dionysian members of the craft, to accept this interpretation and to cooperate in establishing usable techniques in teaching, criticism, and appreciation generally.

Among laymen, of course, the mystic, sentimental dogma lives on

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unquestioned. In a recent article in the *Saturday Evening Post*, a professional writer—seemingly an honest and industrious fellow—was referred to as a "two-legged Pegasus," a "playful comet," "three dozen over-sensitized operatic stars miraculously packed into one perverse body," and "an incomparably delicate instrument that must be conserved for far-off ends"! To the average reader, such phrases of awe and wonder are but fitting; to the initiate, they are heavily ironic; to the subject himself they must have been amusing.

Teachers, editors, writers themselves, even critics, still cling to their precious illusions. They distrust, if they do not fear, any effort to understand the writing process. Mr. N. Bryllion Fagin, instructor in writing in the University of Maryland, reveals this antagonism when he says in his book on story writing: "No formulæ are of any avail in the crises of life, and therefore are of no avail in literature." Mr. Percy Lubbock, in his *The Craft of Fiction*, deprecates the effort to analyze the charm of a given novel because "really seeing an author's books is impossible, that is certain; the book vanishes as we lay hands on it . . . we are haunted by a sense that a novel is a piece of life, and that to take it to pieces would be to destroy it."

So much for teachers and critics! A few years ago Mr. Arthur S. Hoffman presented the attitude of a group of writers in a book giving the results of his research into the practices and ideas of more than a hundred successful popular authors in this country. Out of the number, forty attached extreme importance to technique, forty-five took a middle ground, and twenty-one assigned to it little or no importance. As Mr. Hoffman shrewdly points out, all these nationally known writers have an effective technique whether they know it or not, but the answers to his questionnaire reveal that more than half are nervous in face of an inquiry into their methods.

Even psychologists, though they may boldly grapple with the artistic process, cannot escape, in their reports of their findings, the old transcendental terminology. Such a report was included in the last issue of this quarterly—"The Technique of Creative Thought," by Mr. Eliot D. Hutchinson of the Department of Psychology of the University of Rochester. Presenting the modern view of the intuitional mechanism, Mr. Hutchinson suggests the discipline by which the artist mind learns to "bring imaginative concepts into being and to objectify them." Insight comes with and becomes a part of the

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process of expression, he explains. "The mood is hard won and vastly rewarding. But unless the fleeting thoughts can be at once set down, or made sufficiently conscious to be remembered, they will probably be lost forever."

These are safe generalizations; upon them a sound pedagogy, a dynamic critical method, might be erected. What confusion, however, is with us again when we read that the intuitive or highly imaginative writer, when successful, "lays bare a different mind, a transcendental, superlative faculty"? Such work, Mr. Hutchinson says, possesses a "strange quality of other-worldliness." The intuitive process, though not opposed to the logical, "is in reality extra-logical"—in fine, the dark magic theory of the artist!

Whence this sacerdotal view of the literary business which laymen and scientists equally share? The sacred halo about literary heads dates back, Walter Lippman reminds us, to the Middle Ages, when the only literate people were the clerics, and the acts of reading and writing were priestly tasks. We still speak of the literary "calling" and of writing skill as a "gift." And authors, being human—that is to say vain—indulgently keep us in the dark. It's pretty soft to be able to be called a "high priest" of something or other, to have one's business termed a "holy mystery," to be able to say, with George Moore, that "what one writes is dictated from above" and get away with it! "*Tout ce que l'artiste crache, c'est art!*" burst forth a young Parisian radical recently and he still lives.

This heroic legend, alas, is maintained in many a classroom. The instructor substitutes his own love of literature for an understanding of the creative process, forgetting that by presenting to his students the finished masterpieces he admires he will be more likely to produce good readers than good writers. This is well enough for the readers, but for the writers only discouragement can result from being told that the higher flights of creative work are extra-logical or superhuman. Much better if their minds be set not upon divine fire, but upon wastebaskets, the wastebaskets to which the famous writers consigned the drivel turned off in their apprentice years.

Mr. Hutchinson's description, he stated, was intended to "make available an obscure technique," but if he means available in the sense of being usable by artists, he only puzzles. By Aristotle's definition, technique involves the affairs of the craftsman; it is always

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present as a problem in the presence of materials and a purpose. To say that all illumination follows upon focussed thought and more or less unconscious gestation—"activity, passivity, activity"—is to postulate not a technique, but a psychological process. This process, happily explained by Mr. Hutchinson, is merely that of all reflective thought. Every high school student, business man, cook, aviator, statesman uses it. It's a commonplace to hear people say: "I slept over it, and the next morning—there was the answer!" This process is involved in all problems of scientific discovery, ethics, esthetics, education, religion, as Mr. Hutchinson states, but no description of the mechanism, however brilliantly managed, will alone be of any value in the technical mastery of any art.

Such a technique presupposes a conscious purpose to impress others and involves a way of discipline by which this purpose may most effectively be accomplished. The discipline needed by the literary artist is hinted at by Mr. Hutchinson: "The public does not realize that creative works unfold and are achieved through a partially indeterminate yet inevitable process." As between the active (controlled, conscious) and passive (uncontrolled, unconscious) phases of creative thought, Mr. Hutchinson, like all orthodox literary critics, is more interested in the second. The intuitive process enjoys the glamour of the unknown and smacks of sorcery, while the conscious process, often dull as filling out tax returns, involves a slow and tedious growth that one may trace only by a slow and tedious effort.

That all writers, whether or not they undergo systematic instruction, endure this discipline of which I speak, I think I have ample proof in my own teaching. During the last fifteen years I have coached a thousand or so writers in the arts of the professional author.

The plan of technical discipline made "available" to my students is simple enough. The only real difficulties are, on my part, telling writers the truth about *themselves*, and, on the student's part, persisting with the drudgery of learning. The first step is diagnosis. What writing has the student already done? Has he any hope of success with his basic equipment? What are his literary ideals? What rôle is his writing to play in his life? The answers to these questions (which sometimes are arrived at in a few minutes, sometimes only after a year's experimentation) resolve for both student and teacher the first of the problems of the former's technical discipline,

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namely, his purpose in writing. The conscientious performance of this task reveals the student's knowledge of life, his materials as well as his purposes, so that he may with confidence be set to work on the second and only remaining step, free experimentation with his materials with the object of discovering those ways and means by which to attain his purpose.

This second task is not easy. It continues through the writer's life—as long, indeed, as he expects improvement in his art. It is assumed during his student days that he has much to learn, that the worst fate that might befall him would be to write something which by a stroke of luck would bring him fame overnight (since that would teach him nothing) and the best fortune that he make many mistakes rapidly so that by correcting them he may learn. All theories about "inspiration," "writing moods," "intuitional flashes," "art for art's sake," and "the service of Beauty" are thrown out of the window as so many amateurish affectations. The student is told repeatedly that no one who talks about beauty ever produces it, that book lovers are the worst writers, and that the greatest enemy of good writing is not lack of great ideas, but laziness. Again and again the students are asked: "What do you know?" and "How much have you written?" When a writer comes to me saying that he wants to write a novel, my answer is: "Where is it?"

This approach elicits information concerning the three most important literary qualifications: intelligence, energy, and interest. Of these assets energy deserves first place. Most writers in trouble need, not loftier inspirations, but better digestions. Focussed energy, the ability to sit on a chair, accounts for literary success more than any other one thing. No writer should expect to form a competent style who has not written at least a million words. Spontaneity does not result from spontaneous combustion. Naturalness, sincerity must be learned; the exploitation of the intuitional self has to be learned; a dexterity that unconsciously orders materials into dramatic patterns has to be learned.

The purpose of writing discipline is to teach the unconscious mind to do its stuff. The unconscious mind with its treasures is not immediately accessible. By means of an associative process which we do not yet fully understand the conscious mind can by persistent effort evoke certain responses from the unconscious. These evocations,

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indispensable to all artists, can be brought under control only by deliberate, patient practice.

For all creative writers such are, I think, the technical problems. Such they are for the most imaginative, the most sensitively "gifted," as well as for the most robust, self-sufficient, logical. No writer of our language, I suppose, has created more eerie, phantastically beautiful, seemingly "unworldly" lines than Coleridge, and yet his accomplishments, too, were dependent upon this same discipline of integrated control. The fascinating story of this discipline is brilliantly set forth in that now familiar volume, *The Road to Xanadu*, by John Livingston Lowes. A subjective, conscientious research into the same phenomena may be found in *The Process of Literature* by Agnes Mure Mackenzie. These works indicate the possession by all of us of intuitional insights, "inspirations" if you will, but emphasize the difficulty of bringing on these "brain waves" (to descend to shop dialect) when they are most needed! This, too, they show us, can be done. As June E. Downey says in her very suggestive *Creative Imagination:* "The literary craftsman acquires a technique by which he learns to utilize inspirations; he may even acquire the habit of having them."

Such practice in controlled expression can be accompanied by a certain amount of systematic study. Often this is as rigidly organized and prescribed as would be a course in elementary algebra or descriptive bacteriology. Such study should be designed to illuminate, again, the student's two dominant tasks, his artistic purpose and his materials. An understanding of his purpose, of how readers respond to patterned stimuli, leads him into esthetics and psychology. To grasp better his materials, conduct, life, he resorts again to psychology, normal and abnormal, and to his own observations.

To those who believe in the pentacostal theory of letters, all this doubtless sounds like a journeyman way of promoting authorship. "You can't turn out artists in prose or verse as if they were gas-fitters." My answer to this, based on my exceedingly close contact with both literary success and failure, is that there is considerable in common between the learning processes of the gas-fitter and the competent author. Both handle tools and materials for given ends; both acquire skill; both learn this skill whether they go to school or not. Show me a writer of the most elusive talent pouring forth the subtlest, most

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glamorous and delicate art, and I'll show you how he patiently went to school to learn that art, whether or not he ever saw a schoolroom. This very challenge Mr. Lowes accepted in writing his exhaustive pages about Coleridge's growth as an artist. In them we find the causes as well as the results of this remarkable mind. One may argue that no one should teach authors; no one can argue that they do not learn.

In these very brief comments I am aware that I have hardly touched the extremely important factor of personal equipment in the professionally ambitious student. What students are acceptable for training? Can anyone willing to work hard become a successful author? Must a man be a failure in life to become a success as an artist? Does not special inheritance account for some assets of value? And there is that topic of endless interest: What is genius?

This last theme Mr. Hutchinson temerariously ventures upon in his paper. The genius he refers to as "the man of extreme sensitivity and infinite refinement adjusting to the almost impossible demands of his own inner vision." To this tribute the professional must respond with unctuous bows, but in his secret thought he will find more accurate the portrait by Mr. H. L. Mencken. This editor and writer-among-other-writers tells us that the *genus literarium* is a man who wants money and likes to yell, but being prevented by the police from doing the latter, he resorts to putting things on paper! Every writer must (secretly) appreciate the dictum of that amazing melodramatist, E. Phillips Oppenheim, who defined literary ability "as a gift, like moving your ears."

Temperamentally, most good writers, like most good artists in any medium, seem to be robust, energetic, egoistic, insensitive, often crude, uncultivated, even brutal. They are expressive, not esthetic, types. They are people who explode, who act, live, and write with a kind of violence and without much time for dreaming. Readers dream and feed passively upon the fabrications gleefully fed them by the writers. Both make a good thing of it. The writer asks merely that his name "go places," that you admire his stuff, that you say nice things about him, providing always that you peer not too closely into his bag of tricks.

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Reparations and War Debts

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REPARATIONS and war debts—these words epitomize the tragic story of the years since the Great War—years in which we have run through the gamut of emotions, from the flush of triumph and the exaltation of high resolve through the excitement of accomplishment and then the complacency of apparent success, to supreme doubt and apprehension, deepening to a moral rout of disillusion and despair.

We were so sure in 1919—we are so nervous in 1932. I think there is a more terrible evil in war than human suffering or economic waste. It is not so much what war does to the bodies of those it kills as what it seems to do to the intelligent judgment of those who are its unharmed beneficiaries. In war there are severe practical limitations to what one dares to attempt. The enemy is on the spot with defensive arms approximately equal to the attacking power, and a plan of battle is a sane and careful reliance on definite laws of mathematics, chemistry, and physics. The emotion of course is immeasurable, but the calculation is very calm and very real.

But when physical resistance is over, at a conference of calculations for the peace, the desires for vengeance and for retribution burn on with the same fury as in war, and there being no longer an effective opposition to hold the conference to reality, it proceeds in its unrestricted power to rebuild a world in fantastic disregard of every economic probability and every natural psychological expectation.

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We are learning in our own national life that the end of the administration of criminal justice is not punitive or retributive, but that the sole justification for any treatment of a criminal is to advance the general social welfare. If in punishing an individual criminal we can have reasonable hope that thereby we are deterring others from committing crime, then the punishment is justified, not because there is any moral good or social satisfaction in the infliction of the punishment, not because there is any redress of balance between good and evil by the act of punishment, but only because—and only if—the total amount of criminal behavior in the world is to be thereby lessened. The end looks to the positive future good, not to some empty, pious bookkeeping of dead entries. Plato and Aristotle knew and taught that, but Kant and Hegel confused our thinking for a time and led us into a fog from which we are but just now emerging.

For individual criminals we have courts of appropriate jurisdiction; we have elaborate institutions for the detection and the proof of crime, and for the subsequent treatment of the convicted. It would be a rash man who would claim that this machinery will always grind out ideal justice. We know that many offenders escape and that at least some innocent are fabricated into guilty. We know that in many more cases the unsolved mysteries of the human mind and the human emotions make it impossible to appraise true culpability, and in our ignorance, we fall back on objective tests and rules of thumb. The system works because we can enforce the conclusions reached by the machine, and if ideal justice to the individual be not attained, at least we have settled the question of peace and order, and society can go on about its business and its pleasure. It works because we have a practical machine with which to make it work and because we have strong arms to suppress the exceptions. And our consciences are satisfied because, if we think about it at all, we feel that we have done the best we can.

Transfer this argument to the behavior of States. Whether the Great War was or was not criminally caused by Germany is a question that can never be answered. Was our Revolutionary War caused by the despotic behavior of the English Crown, or by the inevitable intransigence of a new civilization conscious of an ambition to fulfill itself in free institutions? Was the cause of the Civil War a morally or legally guilty act of either the North or the South, or was it an in-

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evitable settlement, by force, of a conflict of ideas which reason had failed to adjust in the Constitutional Convention of 1788?

At the Versailles Conference there were no judicial machinery, disinterested judge, or effective sanctions to enforce decisions save further resort to force of arms. Even if the fair determination of war guilt were ever possible, it is clear that an *ex parte* finding, forced upon a defeated enemy over his angry and bitter protest, was not likely to inspire a determination to pay the sums demanded; and, as rational men foresaw, and as the event has shown, there is no way to enforce payment. Even war would fail as a collecting sheriff because there are no values in Germany transferable to the Allies in satisfaction of the claim.

If I am right in saying that punishment and retribution for past deeds, even when exacted by impartial legal institutions, are not ends in themselves but only means to the end of social betterment, then *a fortiori* this war-guilt clause imposed as punishment was a political and social blunder which has had disastrous consequences. I hold with Woodrow Wilson that the real objective of a post-war conference should be to organize the peace that lies ahead. I have no mawkish sympathy for Germany because she was defeated. I have every sympathy for France. Much of the blood in my veins is French. I am not arguing that ideal justice does not require Germany to repair to the limit of her capacity the damage done to France by the luckless fate that made her soil the battleground of Europe. But I am arguing that we must face facts and that in the interest of France herself much of the Treaty of Versailles was ill-advised, and in the interest of international progress and good-will, in which all nations share, the harm done has been vastly greater than the injuries sought to be remedied.

For the war-guilt clause has kept Germany in a fever of opposition to the Treaty and all its works. The legal, moral, and political aspects of it have given rise to countless books, innumerable speeches, and unending conversation. It has become an *idée fixe* among the German people. It has provided a rallying-point for all creeds, parties, and opinions. They feel they have sure and common ground here to accuse France of injustice and malevolence. Far from chastening their spirit, it has swollen the compensating pride of the defeated. It has been largely responsible for the determination to be done with all payments. The emotions it engendered have in great measure

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caused the restlessness and strife of German politics. In short, it gave opportunity to escape from the practical job of satisfying a reasonable claim and to find refuge in a philosophical debate in which injured feelings convince them they are moral victors in the argument.

In France the effect has also been unfortunate. As the German is philosophical, so the Frenchman is by nature legalistic. He accepts the finding of war-guilt as an adjudication of culpability. Culpability gives rise to a right to damages for loss suffered. The thinking becomes rigid and legal. It is difficult to secure reconsideration of the matter. We have completed the stage of determining the equities and are in the stage of collection by the sheriff—the sheriff in this case being military sanctions which proved a most incompetent bailiff in the Ruhr adventure. The failure of the sanction only increases a thwarted irritation and a determination to insist on the letter of the bond. The total result has been the consolidation in Germany of a national conviction that reparations were a badge of slavery, and that their repudiation was not only excusable but a matter of high moral duty; while in France it is the universal feeling that reparations were not only morally inescapable but a matter of secure legal obligation which is fundamental to the processes of civilized society. All Germany came to call the reparations tribute; all France called the reparations a debt of honor and in law. It is easy to understand both attitudes when we consider the war psychology in which the demand originated and which perhaps we may now hope is at last stubbornly yielding to realities.

It is interesting to watch the subsidence of distorting war exaltation as reflected by the shrinking amount of reparations demanded. During the Versailles Conference, supposedly responsible men in England and in France estimated that Germany could and should pay a capital amount of present value ranging from one hundred to as high as two hundred billion dollars. The economic experts of the Conference were not so completely mad as that. They suggested sums ranging from twelve to thirty billion dollars. But these figures were rejected by the prime ministers of France and England who said quite frankly that their respective governments and peoples were in no mood to accept figures so vastly below what they had been led to expect. In the end no sum was fixed by the Versailles Treaty, whose reparation clauses set out the categories of damages for which Ger-

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many was to be liable, and then established a Reparations Commission which should assess the money amounts within a cooling-off space of two years. Before the Germans signed the Treaty they argued that this was like signing a blank check and that they could make no intelligent effort to salvage what was left of their own financial economy until they knew what out-going sums they must provide for. They themselves suggested a present value of about seventeen billion dollars. If this had been accepted—as was urged by many of the Allied economic experts—it is perhaps possible that Germany might successfully have attempted to pay. But the Allies refused, the blank check was signed under protest, and almost at once began the progressive inflation of the mark which proceeded until money was literally worth less than the paper on which it was printed. This naturally led to charges by the Allies that Germany was deliberately committing fiscal suicide in order to welsh on her obligations. In two years the Reparations Commission reported that it had fixed the sum of thirty-two billion dollars as the present value of Germany's total obligation. Until the end of 1922, Germany made some payments, but then she defaulted and France and Belgium, enforcing the sanctions provided by the Treaty, marched up into the Ruhr (and after an ineffectual experience—like another famous French expedition—they then marched down again).

Things went from bad to worse in Germany. Whether or not she had determined on unlimited inflation to make of herself a corpse that could not pay, she was getting heartily sick of the acute suffering she was undergoing. France was angry. England was alarmed. There was no peace in Europe and the whole world was apprehensive and afraid. It was a crisis in world affairs, and the Dawes Committee met in Paris in 1924 to solve it. The Committee worked swiftly and surely. The Dawes Committee was a meeting of creditors only. Germany was not represented, but she was glad to accept its conclusions. She was bankrupt and she needed above all things a receiver—and that is just what the Dawes Plan gave her. From September 1, 1924, until the lifting of the receivership by the Young Plan in 1929, a large part of Germany's financial economy was in the able hands of Mr. Gilbert, the Agent General of Reparations. The Central Bank of Germany was revitalized, the worthless mark was swept into the dust-bin or the curio-museum, and a new mark really worth twenty-five cents was

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established on a gold exchange basis. German finance was again equipped with the instrumentalities of a sound economy, and was considerably chastened for a time at least—and vastly relieved. She resumed her place in world economy.

The Dawes Plan did not pretend to be a final settlement of the Reparations question. The report expressly recited that it was a temporary measure, looking forward to "a final and comprehensive agreement." It deliberately refrained from fixing Germany's total obligation, but established an annual payment on a scale-up from $235,000,000 to $587,000,000 for an indefinite period. The first payments Germany met, and without too much difficulty. Her foreign credit had been reestablished by the operation of the Dawes Plan and the reconstitution of her internal currency and credit, and in the five years of the life of the Dawes Plan, she borrowed from abroad more than three billion dollars on long term and a very large amount on short term credit. It was directly or indirectly with borrowed money that she made her reparations payments, but many economists both in and out of Germany believed that the payment of half a billion dollars a year could be successfully continued. When German industry had rehabilitated itself with foreign capital, the argument ran, and the producing plant of the nation had been rebuilt and modernized, the cost of production would be low enough to assure a surplus of exports over imports sufficient to meet the service on commercial debts and the reparations payments in addition. And indeed it might well have been so, except for three things that even wise men could not then foresee. First—and perhaps this first is really the cause of the second and third—the collapse of prices and the world economic depression resulted in locking up much of the fine new industrial plant and the dismissal of millions of employees who had to be maintained by public moneys; second, the tariff mania which spread like a contagion in a frightened world, hunting for individual security, killed an export trade necessary to create foreign exchange for reparations payments; and third, that surging emotional outburst which was organized politically as the Hitlerite Party convinced itself and then all Germany that reparations were not an honorable obligation but oppressive and illegal tribute forced upon a conquered people as punishment for a wrong of which it was not guilty.

The Dawes Plan had been confessedly a receivership, and antici-

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pated a final liquidation of the war costs at a future meeting of the creditors with the debtor. The receivership machinery administered by foreigners was irksome and the Agent General of Reparations finally recommended that a second committee of experts be appointed to meet, this time with the debtor, in order to lift the receivership, to fix Germany's total obligation, and to put full responsibility on her, with her own consent, to make honest payment of annual and total amounts as might be agreed upon.

As a result the Young Committee was organized in Paris in February 1929. For more than four months the delicate negotiations went on, requiring unlimited reserves of tact, good temper, and resourcefulness. That these reserves were forthcoming was largely due to the generalship of Mr. Owen D. Young. As Mr. Lamont, himself a member of the Committee, has said, "To understand these men and these things took great understanding, deep wisdom. . . . Mr. Young had them both." The war debts due the United States now entered expressly into the calculation. In searching for a base on which to build the reparations payment structure, Mr. Young proposed that Germany's obligation be set at an amount equal to the net out-going payments due from the debtor Allies to the creditor Allies (i.e., to England and America) plus a fixed amount in commutation of all claims for war-damage to the destroyed territory. The payments were to consist of thirty-seven graduated annual instalments running up to something less than $500,000,000 each, and in addition smaller payments for a further period of twenty-one years to equal the net out-payments of the creditor Allies to the United States during that period. The present value of the entire obligation at 4 per cent was a little more than $10,000,000,000. If the Dawes annual instalments had been continued for the Young term of fifty-six years, its present value on the same basis would have been about $18,000,000,000. Observe the deflation in the demands as we pass in ten years from the war madness of 1919 when astronomical figures of $200,000,000,000 were bandied about, through the Reparations Commission's figures of $32,000,000,000, to the Dawes anticipation of $18,000,000,000, and then to the Young Plan assessment of $10,000,000,000. This descending scale is the record of the stubborn conflict between hopes and realities, between theories and facts. It is a great drama of governmental conflict, with billions advancing and retreat-

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ing, ordered by the inexorable logic of events. A large loan to Germany and the constitution of a Bank for International Settlements were also auxiliary to the Young Plan. The Young Committee believed that they had liquidated the War, for the sums to be paid had been fixed in consultation and agreement with the debtor government itself; that Germany's good will had been enlisted and her honest purpose had been pledged; that there was a reasonable probability that the payments would be made, at least for some years; and that France and Germany would begin to knit the fractured bones of their common economic interests. Although there were already distress signals discernible in world economy and unemployment was serious both in England and in Germany, on the whole we were still in the almost forgotten era of good times, and it was easy to be hopeful.

But trouble soon began. Our roistering stock-market attracted to its orgies the savings of our people, and Germany did not find it so easy as it had been to secure the funds to help her with her reparations payments. Her trade declined, the winter of discontent set in, and the Hitler storms began to brew. In the summer of 1929 there was nervousness in the international financial world. There was the Hatry scandal in England. Europe began to sell American investments and in the autumn our security market of childlike faith and dreams fell out of bed and the world discovered that America was not a beautiful dream-child, but only a rather ignorant and reckless youngster, with freckles. I was in Europe at the time and I can assure you that that realization shocked Europe mightily. If America was not a god, then there was no god, and there was nobody to help the rest of the world in time of need. World trade began to shrink alarmingly and world prices fell. Germany continued her payments but with increasing difficulty. The foreign deposits and short-term credits in Germany began to be withdrawn by their owners, and many Germans sent their money out of the country in frightened recollection of what had happened to them once before. It was becoming clear that Germany would soon have no available resources with which to make foreign payments.

In 1930 our Congress, chasing the will-o'-the-wisp of secure isolation, passed a tariff act which produced a series of retaliatory tariffs abroad, the combined effect of which was further to demoralize the trade of the world which had never recovered from the dislocations

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of the War. The climax came with the failure of a great Austrian bank, the Kredit Anstalt. The foreign depositors in the great banks of Berlin were now thoroughly frightened and a run developed which in a few weeks stripped Germany of her gold and foreign exchange. At that moment Mr. Hoover made a dramatic entrance upon the international scene with his famous moratorium in his hand. It was a somewhat belated recognition of the plain fact that the crisis had become catastrophic, and that the next instalment of reparations was certainly not going to be paid; and that if reparations were not paid, in all probability war debts would suffer the same fate. Non-payment might mean repudiation, and bankers and the world generally are terrified at the word repudiation. It is supposed to be the murderer of that living thing called credit. A moratorium changes none of the facts of inability to pay, but it saves the face of the defaulter because, although everybody knows it, he does not have to say out loud that he is insolvent.

The economic fact is that now—and no one knows for how long—Germany *cannot* pay. The political fact is that the German people from the extreme Left to the extreme Right have decided that they *will not* pay. France, made somewhat less aggressive by the tempering influence of the depression which she has only recently felt in its severity, seems finally convinced that whether the reason be will not or cannot, she might as well abandon, for the sake of her own security and peace, any further attempt to collect large sums.

What finally will have been Germany's total payments as the defeated party, in a war that brought the entire world to the verge of destruction? The figures are disputed by the opponents, and there is no accurate measure applicable, but perhaps we may say that the total payments in cash and in kind will have been somewhere between five and seven billion dollars.

It is useless to attempt exactly to appraise what proportion of the present political and economic *impasse* was caused by the War, as distinguished from the working of silent forces which might have brought trouble upon us even if there had been no war. Speculations about "If-history" are unprofitable. If we include in war-results not only the actual destruction of values in men and goods, but also the violent dislocations of settled processes and habits, and the loosing of unintelligent passion, of fear and of distrust, it is safe to conclude

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that the greater part of our present problems have arisen from those four mad years when all the will and all the wealth of civilized men were concentrated on the sole job of making and exploding shells, shells, and still more shells.

I remember a night in France just before a major attack of the American armies. The gun carriages were almost wheel to wheel for miles. The mass of artillery fire grew so tremendous that the explosions, at first one by one, hurried into a rapid staccato and then into a continuous roar that stopped breath and absorbed life into its dominating power. And I remember wondering what would be the outcome of it all. I reflected, half terrified and half exalted, that the energy of the civilized world had been devoted to making this thunder of destruction; that the work of men, women and children too, everywhere, the accumulated knowledge and devoted aspirations of mankind, had been turned with one accord to the manufacture of this suffocating clamor. This was the fulfillment of all those long processes of credit, labor, invention, machines that had combined in a universal effort to kill men and destroy their habitations. The companion thought is—What will be the result of the neglect of those other delicate machines of peace and progress that were left to rust and rot while the attention of the world was given to the machine of war? It is what we did *not* do during those four years as much as what we did that has intensified our problems and left us uncertain as to how to deal with them.

But if the question of reparations, i.e., what Germany shall pay to the Allies—seems at last in a fair way of being adjusted to economic and political necessities, the question of war debts, i.e., what the various Allied governments owe our government for debts contracted during and just after the War, is still in the legal and theoretical or standpat stage. I should like to discuss briefly the history of these debts, the relation between these debts and the German reparations claim, and to outline what I believe to be a sound policy for adoption by our government.

Modern war is a mobilization of credit as importantly as a mobilization of men. During the first two years of the Great War England was the banker for the Allies. She had enormous investments abroad which represented the savings of a century of successful industrial

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and commercial activity since the Napoleonic Wars. The Allies during those two years had bought vast quantities of war supplies in America, financed largely through English credit. The strain on England was severe, and in 1917 she was as anxious to have the use of our credit as France was to have the use of our men. We agreed to supply the credit, but only for goods purchased in this country for war purposes. The credit was chiefly consumed here, with resulting immediate economic advantage to our own producing plant and our own labor. Some of the credit was used to stabilize the foreign exchange of our Allies, and from this they did reap direct economic benefit because it sustained the purchasing power of their currency. The means to advance this credit was secured by our government through the sale of Liberty bonds to our people, who thus in effect underwrote the repayment of the debts by the Allies. If the debts are not repaid, the particular holders of the bonds will not suffer, but the final loss will be borne by those of our people upon whom falls the national taxation when the Liberty bonds become due. The Allied governments, as they used these credits opened for them at our great banks by our government, gave notes in equal sum providing for payment on demand, with interest. Of course no demand was made or interest collected. We were engaged in a struggle in which their lives and our fortunes were at stake, and no one could foresee what the ultimate disposition of these claims could or should be. It was all put aside for the moment. Yet it was plainly the intent of our Congress and of our Treasury Department to put these credits on a formal business basis, so far as there could be a business basis for a transaction with a debtor who was spending all his resources in war and who would quite possibly soon be bankrupt and defeated.

Nobody raised the question of how or when the notes would be paid. At the Versailles Conference the Allies proposed that our claims be thrown into the common pot of war losses and that we share in the reparations to be demanded of Germany. Mr. Wilson refused; and from the outset we made it plain that we regarded our demand notes as legal obligations, distinct and separate from any reparations which the Allies might demand of Germany. And thus the matter rested until some years later the Allied debtors met with us one by one, recognized the binding character of these obligations, and funded the demand notes into a series of time obligations extending over a period

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of some sixty years. We were, from the business point of view, most generous. We certainly were not Shylocks, as some of our debtors had by this time in their conversation and their newspapers and their parliaments represented us to be.

Our contention was simple and direct. We pointed out that the Allies in their dealings with each other during the first two years of the War had regarded the purchase of supplies from each other, not as gifts to a common cause but as business transactions evidenced by commercial paper; that when we entered the War we paid for what we got from them; that until we entered the War it was not our War and that when we had entered we spared neither money nor effort to make our own part effective; that the supplies purchased by the credits constituted a proper part of their effort, not of ours; that from the beginning our attitude was plain, and that our failure to press for early payment was forbearance and not the surrender of a just claim; that our government owed this money to countless holders of bonds who must be paid; that our taxpayers, who were also our voters, would not consent to take this loss, any more than the foreigner would under similar circumstances; and that sound credit relations between nations required the faithful discharge of these international obligations. But we admitted freely that no one would wish to force a settlement beyond the capacity of the debtors to pay and we proposed that in friendly conference capacity be determined and figures trimmed to meet the fair conclusion. And thus it was done. The sum of the demand notes was in each case set down, accumulated unpaid interest added, and thus the principal to be liquidated by instalments was obtained. The adjustment to meet capacity to pay was made, not by reducing the principal sum, but by shifting the interest rate on the long series of deferred instalments, which of course is equally effective as a practical matter. England was to pay 4 per cent; France, 3; Italy, 1½, the difference in the rates being calculated as the estimated difference in their several capacities to pay the sums involved. The foreign members of the Debt Funding Commissions agreed, and although there was then and is now much popular and political resentment abroad, the various foreign governments ratified the agreements and payments began. The doubters said it was absurd to suppose that any nation would continue for sixty years to make sacrificial payments on debts contracted by their grandfathers, no matter what the eco-

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nomic future might bring forth. But Germany was then making reparations payments with the aid of money borrowed from us, and France and England and Italy passed much of the reparations payments back to us as payments on their war debts, for those countries had definitely arranged to pay us with what they got from Germany. In their minds, from the beginning, the dependence of the one upon the other was complete.

With the financial collapse of Germany in 1930 and 1931 came the failure of reparations payments, legalized, as it were, by Mr. Hoover's moratorium. War debt payments fell at the same time, included as they were under the prescriptions of that injunction by consent. The Hoover moratorium expired by its own limitation, but no payments to us are due on war debts until next December.

At Lausanne we were not represented. We continue in our contention that reparations are a European matter with which we are not concerned and that we shall expect war debt payments in December and thereafter as stipulated in the bond. And west of the Atlantic Ocean that sounds like logic and good business. Nevertheless, east of the Atlantic Ocean the conference at Lausanne last summer sought to establish war debt payments to us as the test and measure of what Germany should do in respect of reparations. Are, then, war debts and reparations dependent, or independent propositions? It is said that legally they are independent. But what does "legally" mean? A legal debt is a debt enforcible in law, but there is no law with which to enforce payment by one sovereignty to another. It follows therefore that, strictly speaking, there is no legal indebtedness from one sovereignty to another and that in the end we must rely merely on the willingness of the debtor nation to pay. When we say "legal" in this connection we mean something more like moral.

In the Versailles Conference, by the famous Balfour doctrine, in the reports of the Reparations Commission, by the Dawes Plan, the Young Plan, the Moratorium, the taxing policies and budgetary practices of the debtor nations, in their parliaments and on their streets, the two sets of debts are so inextricably linked that the debtors never think of one without the other. The average Frenchman is honestly shocked by the suggestion that he is in honor bound to pay us, even though Germany does not pay him.

On our side, in the original acts of Congress, in the set-up of the

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credits, in Mr. Wilson's decision at Versailles, in the proceedings of the debt-funding commissions, in all our public utterances, and in the Congressional Resolution ratifying the Moratorium, our government has been scrupulous to stress the separate character of these obligations. So far as the war debts are a legal claim they are independent of reparations. So far as the method of their collection and not their form is concerned they are obviously dependent, and if we wish to be realistic, it is the collection rather than the form that interests us. In a law court, form and collection are cause and effect. A legal claim is collectible exactly according to its form. But international obligations are collectible only if the debtors wish to pay them, and the form may become irrelevant to the larger political and economic factors.

How, then, should our thinking run when we approach the question of final settlement of these debts? (1) Should we be magnanimous and cancel them outright? (2) Should we stand upon our so-called legal rights, refuse to negotiate, and face default and repudiation if they come? (3) Should we use the trading power which these rights—whether legal or moral—undoubtedly give us, to secure tariff changes or some other economic advantage? (4) Should we reassess the capacity to pay in the light of present circumstances and reduce the obligations as may appear wise?

Before attempting to answer these questions let me state what I conceive to be the fundamental approach to the problem. I believe that the touchstone of decision in this as well as in all kindred matters is the question whether or not a given course of conduct will justly serve our national self-interest, defining self-interest as the sum of our direct gain plus our beneficial interest in improved world conditions. There is nothing gained by approaching international adjustments with unreal professions of intended sacrifice or generosity. They are not fulfilled and a charge of insincerity is the only result. The plain fact is that nations, like individuals, do not sacrifice themselves for others. And if plenipotentiaries should propose to do so, their commitments would be promptly repudiated by their peoples and their parliaments. I am persuaded that we should seek to discover and exploit those spheres of common self-interest where a settlement can be shown to be advantageous to all. Since that is what international conferences always seek to do, why not square professions with practices? Our task, then, is to effect a settlement which will yield

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us the most without depriving us of that general economic health and that good-will of our debtors which are essential to us. Their good-will is as valuable as and may be even more valuable than their money in our hands. Intelligent self-interest is aware that intangibles may be realities, even in bookkeeping.

Should we, then, without conference, without any *quid pro quo* or more ado, notify the nations of Europe that their debts to us have been cancelled? Doubtless that would promptly induce the solution of the reparations problem. Europe would restore us for a while to the rank of Delivering Angels from the West, from which proud eminence in 1918 we fell like Lucifer, even before our troops were out of France. I am not so sure that we should by unconditional cancellation win their permanent respect, and such respect I should prefer to their temporary adulation. Adulation sours to contempt with astonishing ease, as wine turns to vinegar. Whatever direct economic stimulation cancellation of war debts might have afforded two years or even one year ago, economists are pretty well agreed that cancellation now would not have immediate decisive effect upon this deepened and widened depression in which we find ourselves.

On the other hand, outright cancellation would be a severe strain on our own economy. We have seen with what tremendous difficulty Congress has only partially balanced our national budget, and even this has been accomplished on the assumption that the war debt instalments would be paid to us during the coming year. With drastic application of the pruning knife to our federal, state, and local budgets and with still heavier taxation we could perhaps carry the burden without disaster, but the punishment would be severe and the probable benefits hardly seem to justify such action. I conclude, then, that a present voluntary and unconditional cancellation is not in our own enlightened self-interest.

Shall we approve the position recently developed in an article by ex-President Coolidge, a position which has been tacitly accepted as the official position of our government from the beginning, viz., that we are not interested in our debtors' problems, that we have their signed obligations with definite due dates in our strong-box, and that we expect payment as therein stated? In our own self-interest this appears to me an impossible attitude—an attitude stated in the language of business which so often conceals the unpractical in words

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which sound like common sense. For surely no business creditor can afford to be indifferent to the problems of his debtor. The money is not in the paper which the creditor holds, but resides in the activities of the debtor.

This stand-pat argument assumes that in their origins the intention of both parties was that these debts should be paid according to the terms in which they were formally embodied. In business the form of demand note is used for the very reason that it is desired to leave the time of payment open. The purpose is to give a leverage to the creditor and to leave the contract indefinite, pending the resolution of present uncertainties. As to the amount which the parties expected these demand notes ultimately to realize, can it be said that there was any real expectation of any kind? Was it not again the use of a demand note form to serve as a memorandum and to give the creditor a leverage to call his debtors together for a fair adjustment when solid ground should again lie under the feet of men? Suppose these debts had been of smaller size, within the practical operations of banks or business men. What would have been the discount at which they would have offered to buy the debts, thus giving an estimate of collectibility? No—clearly it was intended to postpone all definite thought of any kind, and to win the War, and then to work out a fair and permanent solution, preserving in the meantime a protected position as a matter of ordinary caution.

But when the debts were funded was not this a fair and permanent solution supported by mutual intention and establishing then and there a business obligation on which we may properly stand pat? In the first place the calculations of the debtors, no matter how much we may have blinked the fact or stated the contrary, rested upon their expectations of reparations from Germany. We knew this, and whether or not we pretend to be insulated from its effect, the reliance of our debtors is unchanged. We knew that if reparations failed the probability of our collection would be vastly reduced, if not destroyed, and reparations have now failed. And in the second place, the whole purpose of the adjusters was to determine the debtors' capacity to pay, for we agreed that we sought payment only up to that capacity.

What is the concept, capacity to pay? We were dealing with representatives of free nations composed of many millions of individuals.

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Governments as such have no capital or reserve account. They live on an income basis, from hand to mouth, and their earning power is taxation. Taxes can be levied only with the consent of the taxed. Our vis-à-vis across the conference table were not the distinguished diplomats who sat there but millions of free men, some yet unborn; and we were asking those millions to fix then and there their capacity to pay a present value of some ten billion dollars through the chances and changes of fate and fortune for a period of sixty years. The conference solemnly adjudicated the matter and translated its findings into figures and wrote the figures down on promissory notes which were duly signed and subsequently ratified by the parliaments of these debtor millions. But parliaments have no money. The money is in the banks and businesses of the real obligors, and without their continuing consent we shall never have it.

The trouble lies in the failure to distinguish between a nation's capacity to pay as an economic corporation and its psychological will to pay as a collective group of individuals. Without the latter the former becomes impotent. Whether rightly or wrongly men and women do not feel the same responsibility for the payment of their countries' debts that they feel for payment of their own. In reality the money is owed by the citizens of France and England and Italy to citizens of the United States, but between the debtors and the creditors are interposed two national governmental machines which obscure and weaken the direct sense of obligation. As time passes, the sense of obligation is still further weakened. The sentiment grows that the debt was contracted by some past government that bears no relation to a new generation with fresh anxieties of its own. It all seems like history and not like life. Then, too, the French or English citizen, pressed almost beyond endurance to pay his taxes, and with memory of his own war sacrifices still keen, is likely to say, "America is rich. We stood the gaff for two years before she made up her mind to join us against the common enemy. Let her pay it." All of this is no evidence at all of corporate economic capacity to pay, but is very material to an appraisal of the psychological will to pay, which, in a debt without strictly legal sanctions, becomes the most practical of considerations.

In brief, then, it seems clear that because of the failure of reparations and because of the inadequacy of the forecast as to capacity to

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pay, we are in no position to stand pat and refuse to reexamine the equities. It is not in our self-interest so to do. If we forced a default or repudiation there would be harmful repercussions in the general system of international credit and a too sudden embarrassment of our own taxation forecasts.

Should we now readjust the amount of the debts in the light of changed circumstances and the deepening depression and along with the readjustment seek to obtain both our own and world advantage in such things as rational disarmament, tariff sanity, and monetary stability? At one time I favored a moratorium for, say, five years with assurances to our debtors that at the end of that time equities would be reconsidered and permanent solutions arrived at. But I now believe that the imperative need is for immediate certainty. Uncertainty has brought us to the verge of collapse.

Civilization's processes depend directly on faith—in one's neighbor, be he foreigner or fellow citizen, in oneself, and in the normal functioning of the mechanisms of society. All these faiths have been destroyed by fear, and uncertainty begets fear. When we get down beneath economic abstractions the root of the matter is this—that for three years the vast majority of individuals in the civilized world have seen the steady decline of the value of their assets and the steady increase of their real burden of indebtedness. They have seen their capacity to maintain themselves and meet their obligations steadily diminish. Many false hopes have been held out to them and many disappointments suffered, but the disease has grown steadily worse. Unreasoning fear prevents the healing processes from operating. Most thoughtful men will agree now that no matter what the complex origins of the depression may have been, it is world-wide in scope, and that international credit strains and trade dislocations with their accompanying political distrusts and fears, if not the cause of our troubles, are at least prolonging them and are contributing to prevent each nation from effectually solving its own problems.

When they are afraid, a man, a bank, and a nation behave in just the same way. Because they cease to rely on the promises of others they liquidate and hoard the proceeds. The entire fabric of society rests ultimately on promises, and when they are suspected, we suddenly realize how dependent upon them we are, and are overwhelmed with a sense of insecurity and panic. The individual hoards, the bank

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liquefies itself into social uselessness, and the nation repatriates its foreign balances, and by erecting a tariff wall seeks to keep out the enemy and find security in isolation. Unless we can arrest this process of demoralized contraction, we shall see the price level shrink to a point at which all the goods of the world will be insufficient to carry the load of fixed indebtedness.

The war debts, as we have seen, represent no normal movement of goods, but the forced export to England and to France of gigantic war supplies. The only way whereby the balance could be restored within the normal capacities of international economic machinery would be by an equal flow of goods in the contrary direction. At bottom, international trade is barter and not sale. Nations have no common money except gold, and there is insufficient gold in the right places to meet the present strain. In the end the American-owned francs must balance the French-owned dollars. If they do not, then some American or Frenchman will find himself with francs or dollars which he cannot convert and does not want. If we insist upon payment of the war debts, we must take gold, buy net from Europe her goods or services, or make further loans to her to an amount equal to the payments received. But we do not want to do any of these things because vast sections of our country depend for their very existence on selling their cotton, their wheat, and their hogs in foreign markets, and many of our manufactured products look to their export trade for that top-marginal production which means real profits. We are a gigantic anomaly. We are exporters of food and raw materials and at the same time we are the most highly industrialized nation on earth. Recently we have become the world's greatest creditor. These various interests united in one national economy are finding it difficult to live together. And all of them are finding, or, if they thought the matter through, would find, that the war debts are proving to be embarrassing riches. The banker fears their payment might prejudice the payment of his huge commercial loans; the farmer prefers to have the resources of Europe available for the buying of his crops; and the manufacturer objects to receiving the finished goods of Europe in domestic competition with his own. But there is no unanimous opinion about the readjustment of war debts because the taxpayer who may be neither a farmer, a manufacturer, or a banker cannot look with complacency upon a plan that will add to his tax burden.

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He is unable to decide whether he will be a net loser or a net gainer by the transaction. His interest in industrial, or agricultural, or banking prosperity seems remote and incalculable. His interest in his tax bill is very close and definite.

What shall we do about it all? If I were dictator of these United States, I should summon first a national conference of brains and leadership representing all the major interests of the American people. I should have that conference instructed by disinterested experts, without political interference. And that conference would then advise as to—

1. What are the maximum and minimum proposals that should be presented to an International Economic Conference on the Adjustment of War Debts.

2. Whether world problems such as disarmament, tariffs, and the monetary standard should be considered in the same or in related international conferences.

3. What our government should propose to the other nations with respect to these world problems.

Having thus formulated a general body of doctrine as to where our own national enlightened self-interest lies (which no economist, no business man, no statesman can definitely tell us now) I should invite a conference of the interested nations. In that conference the question of war debts would be definitely settled by adjusting them to all the realities of the situation, including reparations expectations, with full realization of the economic consequences of large international transfers, and with liberal provisions for whole or partial moratoria, during periods of economic depression not fixed in terms of years but related to an established index of prosperity. And in that or in a related conference real progress might be made toward a disarmament program and tariff agreements which would measurably remove the handcuffs from, without artificially stimulating, international trade. Such a conference might at least lay the foundations for a scientific, international monetary policy which future conferences would develop and perfect. All of these things are parts of one inclusive problem, viz., the restoration of natural channels for the free flow of international goods and international capital, and the removal of the insupportable expense and danger of the war machine.

As a result we should see a renewed confidence that the world was

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determined to go on about its business and had rejected the counsels of defeatism and despair. In this result there would be compensation, even in a material sense, for reduction of the war debts.

In the splendid competence exhibited by our democracy when we found ourselves in a war crisis lies the reply to the common assertion that dictatorship is not democracy and that democracy cannot work with swiftness and directness; that it is cluttered up with checks and balances designed to protect individual liberty rather than to cut through the brush to resolute social action. For the moment the democracy put aside the doctrine that this is a country of 120,000,000 sovereign persons with conflicting interests who for long periods checkmate one another, and committed its supreme power to one man who was to decide and act.

It can act in the same manner in this crisis if only it can be brought to see the real nature of this problem and where the true interest of our people lies.

A difficult and controversial question is difficult and controversial for the obvious reason that it is a complex bundle of related, subsidiary problems. If ignorance of the whole, or a temperamental sympathy with one of the subsidiary parts, leads to concentration on a partial aspect, one's conclusion is utterly invalid. For the part contemplated the conclusion may be reasonable, but it is not responsive to the complete question which, as a whole, has not even been considered. An opponent seizes upon one of the other subsidiary problems and becomes so interested in that that he, too, loses sight of the whole. Thus two men, equally sincere, find themselves in opposition. Both think they have arrived at a judgment on the main issue, whereas both have been considering only partial and conflicting components.

The thing that plays havoc with thinking is not straight error but partial truth, which masquerades as whole truth. For instance: It is said that our war debts are international promises that should be kept —and that is true; that France has three billion dollars in gold and that her capacity to pay is greater than in 1925—and that is true; that due to the fall in price-levels, the burden of payment is twice as great as in 1925—and that is true; that England's capacity to pay is less than in 1925, and that it now takes many more pounds to buy the fixed amount of dollars—and that is true; that the French believe we are oppressive and unjust and that they propose to resist what they

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consider extortion—and that is true; that England would strain every nerve to pay but that the effort might ruin her—and that is probably true; that reparations have nothing to do with war debts—and that is true; that reparations have everything to do with war debts—and that is true; that the lifting of the financial burden on our debtors might strengthen their positions as our rivals for world trade—and that is true; that strengthening their economies would make them better customers to buy our goods—and that is true; that we must not embroil ourselves in the quarrels of Europe—and as a statement of our political policy that is true; that modern transportation and communication have tied the economic world together and that we cannot escape its unity—and that is undeniably true.

And, finally, it is said that all of this is irrelevant, that the nation has adopted the stand pat policy and closed the door, and that we might as well go on and think of something else—and that I believe to be absolutely untrue. The people have not had the question as a whole adequately explained to them. According to their special interests, some have seen one subsidiary phase and some another. It is now the duty of all of us to read about it, to think about it, to talk about it, to develop the question in all its phases, to balance the particular components of the argument, and to come to definite conclusions as to where our true national self-interest lies, and in so doing to create an intelligent, informed public opinion which is the only mainspring of the mechanism of democracy.

I believe that in that quest we shall discover that we must solve these matters in international conference; that these inter-governmental debts cannot be judged by simple commercial standards; and that adjustment should be made through the conscious recognition of our part in an economic world organism whose well-being is our immediate and our permanent concern.

In conclusion, let me commend to your consideration a remark of Lord Castlereagh when England was pondering the perplexities of her inter-allied war credits after the defeat of Napoleon.

"If you ever have allies in another war," he said, "and they need money, decide what you can afford, and then don't lend it—give it."

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Integer Vitae

HERBERT O. WILLIAMS*

A MAN of pure and upright life—
No need has he of weapons keen,
Stiletto, pistol, gun or knife,
With which to guard himself, I ween,
Fuscus, my boy.

You do not know with what delight
I daily walk abroad unarmed.
Why, I can tread the mountain's height
Or desert wild quite unalarmed,
In lively joy.

A few days since in Sabine wold
I walked alone; and all my thought
Was of my Lalage; when bold
A wolf appeared and vainly sought
Me to affright.

No ordinary wolf was he!
Portentous beast with dripping jowl!
But when he gave one look at me
He turned and fled with piercing howl
Into the night.

Aye! Place me in what wild you please,
In desert plain where ne'er a breath
Can fan the brow, or rain-drop ease
A heat that seems to presage death
Of misery;

Or on the Arctic's frozen shore,
Threatened by snowy heights above,
And I will only smile the more
And sing of my undying love
For Lalage.

*The author, now American consul to Panama, in submitting this translation of Ode XXII of the First Book of Horace, wrote: "At first I was tempted to translate this poem into a meter that would lend itself to the well-known air of 'Integer Vitae,' but, in my opinion, that old air is entirely too doleful. Horace's Ode is sprightly and jovial; the music of 'Integer Vitae' sounds as if meant for a funeral chant."

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A College Majors in Scholars

RAYMOND WALTERS

President, University of Cincinnati
Formerly Dean of Swarthmore College

WITH science advancing on motor-driven wheels and wings, our pedestrian liberal education in the United States began about a decade ago to try the way of science —which is experimentation. A few colleges began to experiment.

This trial of the way of science was not so much in using scientific technique as in invoking the scientific spirit. Now, as Thomas Huxley once pointed out, our scientific spirit goes back as truly as does our cultural spirit to the Greeks with their unhesitating faith in "the free employment of reason." It may fortify the cautious among us and those who deeply revere the past to realize that the American colleges which are experimenting with freedom and self-discipline are proceeding in the tradition of the Academy of Plato and the Lyceum of Aristotle.

Five institutions were pioneers in demonstrating vital possibilities for the liberal arts college precisely at the time when prophecies were rife that the liberal arts college was doomed. These institutions were Harvard, Princeton, Reed College, Smith, and Swarthmore. Fundamentally, the doctrine upon which each has worked is the same.

What are the underlying principles? What are the methods used? What are the results? The principles represent a departure from the system of classes, courses, credit hours, and the free choice of electives which had grown up in the American college in the half century preceding 1920. In place of these there is a positive and vigorous program of which the basic principles are as follows:

First The college student should learn to educate himself.

Second The student should receive stimulus and guidance from his teachers, but he needs a good deal of time to himself to accomplish his task of self-education.

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Third The objective for the college student should be a thorough knowledge of some one field, a large subject or a group of related subjects.

Fourth The student should be tested at the close of his college course in examinations covering the whole field of his concentrated study.

In putting these principles into operation Harvard, Princeton, Reed, Smith, and Swarthmore are unquestionably utilizing certain devices which have long been successful abroad. These American adaptations are, however, significantly different from the tutorial methods and the honors and pass system of Oxford and Cambridge and from the systems of the Continental universities. And they differ among themselves in an altogether wholesome way.

There is one basic difference in the American programs. At Harvard and at Princeton all upper-class students take a limited amount of work in course along with their free study under the guidance of tutors for their general or comprehensive examinations at the close of the senior year. At Swarthmore, on the other hand, the honors program is limited to those upper-class students who volunteer to take it and who are voted by their instructors to be well qualified in the desired field; and they then devote their full time to the field with no work in course.

"Just how is the honors plan working these days at Swarthmore?" is the question put by the Editor of *The American Scholar*. The question is pertinent because of the wide-spread interest which has prevailed since President Frank Aydelotte, in his inaugural address at Swarthmore in 1921, enunciated his educational doctrine that the able and ambitious student deserved freedom to develop himself up to his full intellectual capacity.

The answer very definitely is that honors work at Swarthmore is prospering far beyond all early hopes and predictions. The story of slow but steady growth for the first five years was recorded by Professor Robert C. Brooks in his *Reading for Honors at Swarthmore, 1922–27*. For the past five years the advance has been more rapid until, in the year now closing, well over forty per cent of the two upper classes are doing honors work. The qualitative results are, in such an enterprise, far more important than the quantitative. The

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reply may moderately be given that honors students at Swarthmore take intellectual work seriously, they apply themselves to it, and they reach higher standards than formerly prevailed. Those graduated under this program have acquitted themselves well in graduate schools, in the professions, in business, and in industry.

There has been considerable change in method at Swarthmore in recent years, in conformity with President Aydelotte's tenet that the precise way of doing it is secondary to the spirit in which honors work is done. The first two years are both exploratory and basic, designed to give students a chance to ascertain their field of interest and also to obtain fundamental training in it. The effort now is to invite the preparatory schools to share in the exploratory function and to have all entering students utilize the summer preceding matriculation in exploratory reading specially outlined for them.

As honors reading is always of an advanced character, the grounding for it must be gained in the freshman and sophomore years. Typical prerequisites or recommendations are as follows: Classics Department—four Latin courses and two Greek courses; English Department—Survey of English Literature, Chaucer or Shakespeare, History of Europe or History of England, and Introduction to Philosophy; History Department—History of Europe, History of England, and History of the United States. Philosophy Department—at least two semester courses of three hours each. Social Science Departments—Introduction to Economics, Governments, and Parties in England and Continental Europe; or American Political Parties, and American Federal Government.

It is the belief at Swarthmore that fundamental work such as the foregoing can best be given by the course method and this holds also for mathematics, the natural sciences, and engineering. After ten years of experience the Swarthmore faculty believe that the honors method could not profitably be applied in the freshman year; first, because entering students are rarely ready for honors freedom and, second, because they rarely have the grounding for true honors work. Some teachers at Swarthmore are of the opinion that the method might be extended to include the sophomore year.

By the end of his second year the student usually knows whether he wishes to apply to read for honors and his instructors usually know whether the student has the intellectual and character qualifi-

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cations to carry such work. The enterprise, therefore, is begun upon the initiative of the student and with the consent of the instructors in the division concerned. It is not a question of average grades, or of routine procedure, or of compulsion.

Under a recent realignment Swarthmore honors work is now offered in four divisions. Work in the Honors Division of the Humanities is given jointly by the departments of Classics, English, Fine Arts, German, History, Philosophy, and Romance Languages. The Honors Division of the Social Sciences comprises the departments of Economics, History, Philosophy, and Political Science. Work in the Honors Division of Mathematics and the Natural Sciences is conducted jointly by the departments of Botany, Chemistry, Mathematics and Astronomy, Physics, and Physiology and Zoology. The Honors Division of Engineering is made up of the departments of Civil Engineering, Electrical Engineering, and Mechanical Engineering.

This new arrangement provides that the honors student in any given division devotes half the time of his two years of honors reading to the subject of his major interest and divides the other half between two related subjects within his division. Exceptions may be permitted in special cases.

When they are accepted as qualified, students are referred to a statement of the field to be covered. As Professor Brooks has observed, honors work is "arranged in terms of books to be read or topics to be covered, not in courses with all the familiar paraphernalia of numbers, titles, descriptions, hours of credit, and the like." The student's job is to gain a command of his field by his own reading, by discussion and instruction in weekly group meetings conducted by professors, and, for science and engineering students, by work in the laboratories. He thus prepares for examinations at the end of his senior year—papers set by external examiners to test the thoroughness of his knowledge.

Within the limits of the week as a unit for assignment, honors students may work up material in their own fashion. There are set hours for the weekly group conferences but there are no set hours for study. Most honors students start study early in the day, and shortly after breakfast we should find them reading in the college library, in their own dormitory rooms, and sometimes, on pleasant

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fall or spring days, on the campus benches or in the court of the Clothier Memorial. Instead of being compelled to flit from one class in this to another in that and to a third in something else, they have the whole morning for uninterrupted attention to Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* or to Bryce's *American Commonwealth* or to vector analysis or to comparative neurology.

Along with their reading for the week the honors students have assignments which give opportunity for some measure of creative expression. In the social sciences and the humanities divisions this is the writing of papers on some phase of their reading; in the natural sciences it is solving some problem in the laboratory. In all honors divisions there are questioning and debate at the conference meetings, which are held two and, in a few instances, three times a week. For two hours at least, and usually for three, the presentation of papers and discussion goes on. There is a stimulating give-and-take in the honors seminar, with the professor serving not as a schoolmaster among pupils but as an older scholar guiding younger scholars.

The test of the whole process comes at the end of the two years in a series of comprehensive examinations, including orals, upon the basis of which students are graduated "with honors," "with high honors," or "with highest honors." The examinations have been set by professors of Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Columbia, Pennsylvania, Johns Hopkins, Chicago, Michigan, Wisconsin, Virginia, Bryn Mawr, Amherst, Haverford, Brown, Wesleyan, Rutgers, Lehigh, Lafayette, College of the City of New York, and the University of Oxford. In 1931, ten Swarthmore students were graduated with highest honors, nineteen with high honors, and twenty-seven with honors.

No statement of the honors program at Swarthmore would be complete without a word as to its effect upon those who teach under the program. As Professor Arnold Dresden has said, "The teacher is no longer the student's potential judge and executioner. They work together to gain knowledge and to intensify interest. . . . Such teaching develops a quality of adventure." Under the honors program the teacher "retains a youthful zest"; he is in an atmosphere "in which the research spirit can thrive"; his work is "worthy of his real devotion."

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The Philosophy of Bolshevism

HANS KOHN

WHATEVER may be the outcome of the upheaval in Russia, one thing is certain—the old Russian civilization is dead. I remember what a thrill I had in the spring of 1915 when I first went to Russia, the country of Dostoyefsky and Tolstoy, with whose thoughts I had spent some of the best hours of my youth. Last summer as I came again to what had been Russia I found that a new human type had been emerging, to which Dostoyefsky and Tolstoy were figures of the past, without any real shaping influence in present day spiritual life.

The old Russian civilization, which in all its beauty and all its emotional and intellectual depth had been the property of only a small minority, has been dispossessed by a new civilization, the bearers of which form entirely different sociological strata in the population of the Soviet Union. The old intelligentsia have disappeared. It is perhaps one of the most tragic events of history that these men and women who gave their lives for the bringing about of the Revolution, who went to prison for this aim, and who formed perhaps the élite of progressive pre-War Europe in their entire devotion to what they regarded as the cause of the people—that these men and women, the Revolution accomplished, have been pushed aside by it. These men and women who had dreamt throughout their whole lives of this Revolution were terrified at the actual sight of what revolution really meant, at the chaos and at the destruction of all the values which they had cherished. They did not recognize their own child, and their own child, like the gods of Greek tragedy, devoured its creators.

The new youth, the bearers of the new Soviet civilization, are not children of the old Russian intelligentsia. They are children of the masses, of the mujiks of Russia and of the many non-Russian

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primitive nationalities living in the vast territory of the Soviet Union. This youth has no cultural inheritance from the near past. It is a barbarian youth. Youth is at any time barbarian, a clean slate given to the pencil of history to write upon; but in civilized countries youth, as soon as it is born, is taken into the discipline of the transmission of the social and cultural inheritance of its environment. It is shaped after traditional patterns, and any revolt slumbering in the youth of a country finds its outlet only in prescribed channels. The youth in the Soviet Union is a barbarian youth in the full sense of the word. It goes entirely new ways, comes from strata of the population which had no previous education whatsoever, and finds itself suddenly at the gate of an entirely new world. The same is true of the second social stratum, bearer of the new Soviet civilization of the proletariat. The worker in the Soviet Union has not been like his "class-mate" in western Europe—through school education and his private property, although modest, a partner in the traditional civilization based on private property. Through his school education the worker in the West has received both knowledge of the cultural inheritance of his environment and love for the national values therein. The worker in the Soviet Union (probably in the same generation—certainly in the generation before—a mujik, and only two generations ago a slave) knows nothing about Russian civilization and its beauties, and would therefore have no emotional part in it. The proletariat of the Soviet Union, even the Russian one, and still more the rising working classes of the many new nationalities within the Soviet Union, are material for a new civilization. They are ready clay in the hands of a potter. And the leaders of the Soviet Union excel in the art of shaping Russian youth and the working classes, together with those of the many other nationalities within the Soviet Union, into a uniform new shape. This new Soviet civilization—and that was my most vivid impression as I came again to what had formerly been Russia—is non-European. Today the European in the Soviet Union feels less at home than in Eastern countries.

What is Europe? Europe as we understand it today and as opposed to what we call the Orient, or what we see today in the Soviet Union, has only emerged since the Renaissance and Reformation, and was only molded into its definite form in the period of critical

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rationalism which we call enlightenment. At the very base of Europe's intellectual attitude lies always a certain skepticism, the right—perhaps the arrogated right—to a critical examination and revaluation of all beliefs and of all assumptions. Only this skeptical attitude led to the toleration of other opinions and to freedom of conscience, the great achievements of the modern age. Only men who are profoundly skeptical can tolerate differences of opinion and demonstrate that readiness to compromise which is the basis of all democratic cooperation. The skeptical attitude leads necessarily to individualism and regard for the opinions and ways of one's fellowmen. The extreme formula which this attitude has found in the words, "Let each one find salvation in his own way," must sound as blasphemous in the ears of the Communists as it would have sounded blasphemous in the ears of any Medieval man.

Bolshevism is a reversion to the Medieval attitude, to the age of absolute faith. We witness today the spectacle of large portions of contemporary humanity, tired of the strain of the skeptical attitude of the modern age, longing for certitude. And in our day when it seems as though the liberalism which has made Europe what it is has led into an impasse in all fields of human activity—intellectually, socially, and economically—this longing for the reversion to the Middle Ages has become general. But Bolshevism is not satisfied with what satisfies Fascism. It is not content to give an emotional certitude of the way to follow. It gives, like the Medieval church, much more—a real *summa*. It gives a system of thought which purports to explain all phenomena of the social world and which, because of the imminent development of human society, will lead to the salvation of humanity. Communism, although on a different level of thinking, is a faith as full of religious fervor as Medieval Christianity or Medieval Judaism, and we shall understand Bolshevism fully only if we look at it as an *ecclesia militans*.

This Medieval attitude can be traced in many phenomena of the Bolshevik mental attitude. In a discussion between Communists or between Communists and non-Communists, a point will always be reached at which the proof proffered is not based upon reasoning or an experience but upon what we call in theology the "Schriftbeweis," the Word, a quotation from the Holy Scriptures of the respective faiths. In all discussion the final argument is a quotation

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from Marx or Lenin, offered in the same spirit which moved orthodox Jews or Christians or any really believing people to quote from their Holy Scriptures. And as holy scriptures allow of manifold interpretations, the predominant rôle which Stalin plays today, not only in the administration of the Soviet Union but in the development of Communist theory, can be easily explained in the light of his rôle as the authentic interpreter of the holy scriptures of his faith.

There is real cause for the hardness and inhumanity of the typical Communist—for his superhuman or prehuman qualities. Where one is convinced that there is one way to salvation and only one way and that salvation really means salvation—the end of all human misery and uncertainty, of starvation of body and mind—one ceases to tolerate any other mode of life. One refuses to endanger salvation and the future of all humanity simply for the chimera of freedom of conscience. No freedom of opinion exists within Communism, and it could not exist, as it could not exist within any Medieval society. As in every genuine religion man is asked in Communism to sever all human bonds, to follow the call of the spirit. The same attitude dominates the Bible, both the Old Testament and the New. There passage after passage repeats that whosoever wishes to follow God must leave behind him all human allegiance, husband and wife, father and mother, brethren and children. Remember that Jesus disowned his mother; and that Moses, coming down from the Mount and learning of the worship of the Golden Calf, commanded the Tribe of Levi to go through the camp killing whomsoever had been guilty—even every man his son and his brother—and that Moses lauded the tribe as they returned from their gruesome work.

There are many examples of this attitude. Children of those members of the former "exploiting" classes who have lost their civil rights are not allowed to attend the institutions of higher education unless they publicly repudiate their parents. Moral reflections, as a rational philosophy understands them, do not enter into the rules of conduct of Bolshevism. The Communist acts rightly whatever he does, for he is driven toward the only goal that counts. Therefore he can never understand the conscientious scruples which beset many of the best who in many ways would sympathize with his theory and his goal. He sees in them a most dangerous enemy, undermining that

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certitude of the way which is the quintessence of Bolshevism as of any other religion. In a genuine religion the question of whether and what that religion adds to knowledge is unimportant. It is only important that this religion be a new source of fortitude wherewith to live life; and that it give to men the inner light which lends meaning to life and all its vagaries. In a time when we all seem as blind people feeling our way through the crooked, narrow streets of an unknown town, the Communists see their whole way lighted. They are full of confidence that they are following the right path.

In the Soviet Union the same Medieval attitude is characteristic of the position of science and art. Science and art in the Soviet Union exist to help build the new social order and bring about the salvation of humanity. For us who are the children of the Renaissance and the Reformation, an artist's work or a scholar's work has its justification in itself. An artist creates because he is driven by his demon to mold his passion into the material without asking *cui bono;* and the same is true of the scholar who does his research work in human history or in nature's laboratory for the sake of the intellectual enjoyment which it affords him. An artist or a scholar creates in our world because he cannot do otherwise. In Medieval Europe it was different. Science and art had to be servants of the faith. Philosophy was the *ancilla theologiae* and the arts existed to glorify the church. At the same time the artists remained anonymous. The great Gothic cathedrals and the beautiful sculpture of the Middle Ages have come to us as eternal monuments of a religious art, without leaving to us the names of the builders or the makers, and even where we know the name, it is merely the name that we know. The Medieval artist and the Medieval scholar were unknown members in the great choir, singing the praise of their faith. We have grown into ridiculous exaggerations of individualism in art and science, and are more interested in the futile biography of the artist than in his lasting work. The desire of the Communists for anonymous authorship, for collective work in the arts and sciences, is something which it is difficult for the European to accept, but which nevertheless can lead and has led to other great manifestations of art and science. The Medieval age was a non-individualistic age and Communism means also in this sense a return to the Middle Ages.

In Europe individualism goes so far that the privacy of one's life

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seems, at least in theory, sacrosanct. The English saying, "My home is my castle," exemplifies an attitude which is thoroughly non-Communistic and certainly not social. The European after a day's work retires into his home, into the seclusion of an interior where the outer world is not allowed to intrude. The Communist, on the other hand, preaches a much closer fusion of men and society. A man or woman leaving his six or seven hours of work does not belong to himself but must go out to fulfil his function in society, to do social, educational, economic work, to participate in meetings or in common recreation and enjoyment. The Marxian idea of a state leads to a situation in which there are no officials of the state and in which all the work of the community is done by the workers themselves, after their daily routine has been accomplished. The total merging of the functions of the individual and the functions of society is in harmony with the belief that artists and scholars should not lead a solitary existence in a tower of ivory, but should rather be closely associated with the wants and exigencies of daily life. It seems to us, perhaps, that a great source of creativeness and productiveness lies in a life of solitude; and that this source of power, taken into account in the Middle Ages in the many monastic retreats, has not found its place in the new philosophy of Bolshevism, which on the other hand represents a continuation and even an accentuation of many traits characteristic of the nineteenth century.

The nineteenth century was the first century in history dominated by the idea of change or progress. All time has been a time of change, but change has gone on unconsciously and to such a slow measure that it has been unnoticed by man. It has not been the compelling idea or the driving and pushing force in man's life. In the nineteenth century, especially in America, this pioneer spirit of going on and on to new discoveries became a dominating factor in life, but the change has been rather a change *per se*, without a certain definite goal and without a plan which the change should follow. It was a race of progress into the unknown. Bolshevism has here made a very definite advance over the nineteenth century. The progress in the nineteenth century, the invention of the new machines, seems to have led to present day chaos. Bolshevism does not wish to stop change or progress. It accentuates them, it accelerates them, but it tries to bridle them, to direct them toward a definite goal,

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according to a definite plan, and under a guiding direction. The joy and drunkenness of progress, so characteristic of the nineteenth century, is even stronger in Bolshevism, at the very time that we in Europe have come to doubt the wisdom of change and progress in the naïve form proclaimed by our fathers and grandfathers. Bolshevism has the same naïve belief that science can solve the riddles of the universe and help man to find his salvation. Technique and machines enjoy in the Soviet Union the same or even greater veneration than they did with us in the nineteenth century and than they did specifically in America.

Between Communist civilization and America there are several similarities in the underlying outlook upon life. We find here and there the same psychological approach in the social sciences, the same awe of statistics, the same superstitious veneration for quantity which is mistaken for quality, and finally the same spirit of youthfulness.

Thus Bolshevism offers a combination of Medieval theology and the modern machine age. If we probed the contents of Bolshevik philosophy we should find there a strange contrast to what Russia had been until the last few years. Bolshevism is a philosophy of rationalism. Bolshevism has thrown in its lot entirely with Hegel, who believed in the importance of history and who saw in the intellectual and social history of mankind the evolution of the rational principle, and in his philosophy the end of this process, the crowning of human history. Schopenhauer on the other hand saw no hope in our historical evolution. For him the only way to salvation lay in the individual's escape from history, and he was certain that the decisive forces of human life are the dark and deep irrational forces.

Bolshevism believes there is a historical process of social evolution towards the goal set by Bolshevik philosophy, and in its rationalism it is certainly not materialistic. In Bolshevik philosophy there is a very strong current which sees in the material only the material for man's will, and which believes in the power of the human will to change circumstances and to overcome the dark forces in life created and upheld by old institutions and old ways of life. In this activist philosophy, a call to arms for a creative effort, lies some reason for its appeal to youth. Every man is summoned to take his part in this great adventure. Here is the basis for that great experiment of

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mass education which Communism has introduced in its arousing of the initiative and the will power of the masses. At the same time Communism is the first philosophy to proclaim on a large scale the dignifying of labor—an effort to make labor not a slavish drudgery for securing the necessities of life, but a means to filling it with creative joy and to making it the basic foundation for all higher life. This philosophy contrasts strangely with the more contemplative and musing character of pre-War Russia, the conscientious scruples and the night-long brooding of the old dreamers of freedom and seekers of God in the days of Dostoyefsky, Tolstoy, and Kropotkin.

As a secular doctrine of salvation Bolshevism presents one serious problem. Its goal is the same as the goal toward which Judaism or Christianity has striven—the kingdom of God on earth, a state of full joy and happiness for all human beings, a time of peace and union. In the Jewish and Christian doctrine of salvation, every individual and every concrete situation of life has its absolute value; the present is immediately connected with the ultimate goal. In Bolshevism, although static elements are entirely sacrificed to its dynamic drive toward the goal, the present moment, the individual's life, the living generation, have no absolute value in themselves. They are nothing else than a step on a ladder which must be climbed with all speed in order to make the absolute, static ideal attainable within as short a time as possible. But the question remains whether it is possible after disregarding all the static elements to arrive at this static ideal.

In one other and very important way—in its missionary aspect—Bolshevism is a continuation and augmentation of dominant trends in the nineteenth century. In laying a basis for the meeting of nations from all over the earth on the common battleground of similar economic and social structure and of similar underlying outlook on life, the capitalistic society of the nineteenth century was a powerful instrument in the process of world integration. Bolshevism has resumed this missionary effort and has filled it with a fervor which once distinguished Christianity and Islam in their spread over the earth. The molding of the nations of the earth into a Great Society, begun by capitalism, has been resumed by Bolshevism in a much more conscious way and in quite a different spirit of full partnership of all nations, the progressive and the backward, without any dis-

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crimination and without any color bar in the coming comity of nations.

Will the philosophy of Bolshevism undergo a change? Is it a philosophy destined only for the transitional period of combat, and will it make way later on for more elastic conceptions? Will its fervor and its militant character be broken up through a growing skeptical reasoning, a new enlightenment among the youth of future generations in the Soviet Union?

There is no reply to these questions. A new type of man is in the making today all over the world; and we cannot foresee this new type, any more than the fathers of the French Revolution or onlookers in that period could foresee the type of man described to us by Balzac. Yet that man was the outcome and the fruit of that very upheaval, at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, which led to the great adventure of liberalism and capitalism. Whatever this new man emerging today may turn out to be, there is no question that the philosophy which today dominates the rising generations in the vast Eurasian territory stretching from Poland to the Pacific Ocean and from the Arctic Sea to the Gates of India, will have a decisive influence upon the formation of the human type in the growing unity of mankind.

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Editorial

Needs of a Healthy One-Year-Old

WITH this issue THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR completes its first year. If you have been among those who as readers and contributors helped make possible the attainments of the first volume you know the quality and scope of the articles; how nearly has been realized the ideal which brought the magazine into being—the publication of a journal of intellectual life, providing a whole diet for the whole mind; a journal for scholars, if you will, remembering that the name of our periodical took its inspiration from Emerson's famous address in which he defines the word scholar—"In the right state the scholar is *Man Thinking*."

The second year's work begins with hope that what has been accomplished justifies you in continuing your cooperation by the renewal of your subscription. Thus you will give the magazine an opportunity to profit by experience and wider acquaintance with scholarly, authoritative writers, and become the focal point for thoughtful discussions from all fields pertinent to life.

Your renewal is vital to the journal. As the number of readers increases good articles are more easily secured. The greater the number of copies printed, the lower the cost per unit. Despite the fact that Phi Beta Kappa cares for most of the overhead, the quality of paper and printing and the subscription rate of $2.00 a year make imperative a large subscription list.

THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR can grow wonderfully if you who have read it with interest in 1932 will introduce another reader of similar tastes to its pages, either now or through the presentation of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR as a Christmas or birthday gift to a friend.

Help THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR to grow if you believe in its objective.

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Myopic Ants

WILLIAM JAMES is in one sense preeminently the American scholar, but in an important sense he is European. His dominating interest in man and his welfare, his disdain for etherial dialectic which carefully gathers its skirts away from the untouchable daily needs of human beings, his "tough mindedness" and rugged courage in the face of the mysterious and disillusioning facts of life, are truly American.

He is a European, however, when he pokes fun at the "myopic ant," the too frequent American scholar whose knowledge, interest, and vision are so restricted that he not only is incapacitated for good citizenship but actually misinterprets the little he permits himself to see. William James did not study subjects; he studied his subject, man. Medicine, psychology, philosophy, religion—practically every discipline contributed to his comprehensive understanding. We in the United States are frequently so near-sighted that we fail to base our specialization upon a broad knowledge of the nature of life and the universe, upon a mature wisdom drawn from literature, history, philosophy, and the sciences. The European scholar is less likely to be a "myopic ant."

Perhaps that explains why the Nobel Prize for the advancement of sciences comes relatively seldom to America.

William James grew and stimulated growth in that notable Harvard arena—with Royce, Palmer, and Muensterberg. Bitterest enemies intellectually, they were closest of friends socially. The story goes that once Royce, when pinch-hitting for James, opened the text, Royce's own work, at the place marked by James, and after a long look at the page remarked to the class: "Well, gentlemen, the marginal note says 'Damn fool'!"

The philosophy department had no head, but a transitory chairman. An essential qualification for a new member of the department was that he disagree with every other member. Intellects could not but grow in such a soil!

WILLIAM ALLISON SHIMER.

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Fishes Aid Study of Tumors

MYRON GORDON
Heckscher Research Zoologist

[This is the second Mexican expedition which Dr. Myron Gordon has led. The first was conducted in 1930 for the University of Michigan Museum of Zoology, Division of Ichthyology, and the Instituto de Biologia de Universidad Nacional de Mexico, and was for the purpose of making a survey of the fresh water fishes of northeastern Mexico. For the past six years Dr. Gordon has been studying inheritance in certain Mexican fishes at Cornell University, under grants from the National Research Council and the Heckscher Foundation for the Advancement of Research. The work on tumors in fishes is comparatively recent, his first papers on the subject having been published last year in the *American Journal of Cancer*. The significant points which these papers bring out are that the neoplastic disease, technically known as melanosis, in fishes has a definite hereditary basis, and also that this disease appears only in fishes arising from mating of unlike species. The neoplasms never appear in pure races. On the second Mexican expedition new species, hitherto unobtainable alive, were sought for the extension of studies in racial crosses and their influence upon the problems of tumor development in the hybrid offspring.—*Editor.*]

WHEN a perfectly healthy black-spotted platyfish is mated to an equally healthy Mexican swordtail killifish, hybrid fishes will be born, each of which will invariably develop black tumors in various degrees of intensity. These species mate readily. Both are viviparous—the young are born alive.

Spotted platyfishes when mated to members of their own species produce spotted but perfectly normal young. Swordtails mated to swordtails also produce normal fishes. The tumors appear only in the hybrid fishes where one of the parents is the spotted platyfish and the other is the swordtail. If an unspotted platyfish is used in a hybrid mating, the disease will not appear. The spotted condition in the platyfishes is inherited from one generation to another with definite mathematical precision.

The black tumors of hybrid fishes are manifestations of a neoplastic disease, technically known as *melanosis*. It involves the unrestrained multiplication and growth of large black pigment cells. Under normal conditions (in pure races) pigment cells subserve the function of protection. By means of a complicated cellular mechanism, involving the movement of pigment granules within the color cells at the surface of the body, fishes may become darker or lighter according to the color of their immediate environment. This adaptive quality is lost in diseased fishes.

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In hybrid fishes these pigment cells are stimulated to abnormal growth in response to the combined hereditary factors contributed by both parental races. These color cells multiply out of proportion to their surrounding tissues and develop into large black tumors. They not only grow outwardly but inwardly too, and eventually replace with black cells the normal tissues of the body, such as muscles, connective tissues, and blood vessels. These blackened new growths, or neoplasms, cause parts of the body to break down and then the fishes swim about in a crippled condition.

The fact that melanosis in fishes is a true neoplastic disease, and that its development is conditioned by known hereditary factors involving animals of mixed races, are the significant points which have attracted the attention of workers in cancer research. (Cancer, technically, represents only one of the important subdivisions of the neoplastic diseases.)

While it cannot be said that melanosis of fishes and melanosis of man are the same, there are certain similarities which make a complete study of the underlying factors of the disease in fishes an important one. It is believed that when the complete natural history of tumor development in one species of animal is worked out, light will be thrown on similar conditions in other animals, including man. For these reasons fishes will be added to that important group of laboratory animals that have contributed greatly to our knowledge of disease in man. These aquarium fishes are particularly suited for such purposes, since they are easy to breed, they grow rapidly to maturity, yet their adult size is not over three to four inches.

A demonstration of the usefulness of laboratory animals in the interpretation of a pathological condition in the human body is seen in some recent work with mice. Dr. Halsey Bagg was successful in producing mammary cancer in mice by stagnation of milk. The condition was brought about either by withdrawal of young or by ligation of ducts. A cancer expert has commented on these discoveries as follows: "The observations offer a logical explanation of the origin of many mammary cancers in the human subject in which stagnation is nearly constant, and they may form a basis for the proper hygiene of the breast and the prevention of mammary cancer."

Upon the discovery that tumors in the hybrid fishes develop as a result of racial crosses, the need was felt for determining the effect of racial crosses in other species of platyfishes and swordtails. While several other species have been known to exist in Mexico, only two were obtainable alive in this country. One species of platyfish and one swordtail are common aquarium fishes and were the first to be used in these experiments. Both of these fishes had been reported as living in the same locality in southern Mexico. It was considered possible that these two fishes would occasionally mate in nature. If such mating actually took place it was considered important to determine whether melanosis occurs among the chance hybrids. If melanosis were found it would disprove the contention that this disease is

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merely a laboratory produced condition.

Another important problem which commanded attention was the determination of the effects of domestication. It is believed that most of the commercial stocks of these aquarium fishes are descendants of those brought into Germany from Mexico about twenty-five years ago. The domesticated strains were used in the present experiments. Would two fishes of unlike races, taken out of their natural habitat and mated, yield results similar to those obtained from fishes which had been born, reared, and bred under aquarium conditions?

The above problems called for field work in Mexico, and the Cornell Mexican expedition was organized for the purpose of obtaining information concerning conditions in the field, and to find and bring back all the known species of platyfishes and swordtails.

The expedition was made by automobile during the dry months of March and April. It was known that all the species of platyfishes and swordtails were restricted to streams of the Atlantic drainage. All these streams were explored as far south as Papaloapan in the State of Oaxaca. Each species of platyfish is confined to a different river system, but at two points swordtails were found living together with platyfishes.

As a result of this expedition the four species of platyfishes and a swordtail, some of them being separated in nature by as much as 250 to a thousand miles, are now swimming within a few inches of one another in the aquarium laboratory at Cornell University. Already racial crosses between some of the species of the platyfishes have revealed that tumors may be produced in species hybrids in much the same fashion as between the platyfishes and the swordtails. Experiments have been set up attempting hybridization between each of the four species of platyfishes and between each of them and the two species of swordtails. Needless to say the results are awaited with keen interest.

One specimen which seemed to be suffering from melanosis was obtained in Mexico and successfully transported three thousand miles to Ithaca. At present it is being mated to a fish of known heredity. Its genetic constitution will be revealed by a study of its offspring. Analyses of many other specimens are being made in similar experiments. The breeding work is accompanied by microscopic study of the state of pigmentation in all types. It is hoped that the data already obtained and those which are expected to come as a result of these studies will give a better picture of the nature of tumors in this group of animals than it has been possible to obtain previously with other animals.

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"Public Affairs" at the University of Virginia

THOMAS H. REED

Professor of Political Science, University of Michigan

Six years ago last August the Institute of Public Affairs opened its first two weeks' session at the Univer-

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sity of Virginia. Those who were attracted to the first Institute found there the Jeffersonian spirit of free discussion and a warmth of hospitality which left nothing to be desired. The Institute has never repeated so impassioned a scene as when W. G. McAdoo, Albert Ritchie, and Carter Glass debated the prohibition question while a thousand auditors forgot their lunch hour, but each succeeding session has been replete with interest. Under the wise and genial direction of Dean Charles G. Maphis, to whom also belongs the credit for originating the idea, it has now become a national institution.

The Institute of Public Affairs is concerned, in marked contrast with the Williamstown Institute of Politics, with the domestic affairs of the United States. One of its round tables has been annually devoted to the relations of this country with Latin America, but with this exception only an occasional address has dealt with international matters. The program of no one year indicates the scope of the Institute. Among the topics to which round tables have been devoted are Municipal Government, Farm Relief, The Growing Tax Burden, The Influence of the Press, The Economic Development of the South, Law Enforcement, Unemployment, Regionalism, The Chain Store, The Country Church, Reorganization of State Government, The Administration of Public Business, Business and Government, County Government, The Anti-Trust Laws, and Economic Recovery.

This year's Institute (July 3–16), meeting under the difficulties of a depression year, was fully the equal of any of its predecessors in attendance, interest, and intellectual quality. The participants in the program numbered 188, 560 registered for the round tables, and the average attendance at the public evening sessions was 602. Thirty states and seven foreign countries were represented.

The round tables offered and their leaders were:

The Anti-Trust Laws: Gilbert H. Montague of the New York Bar.

County Government: Professor Harold W. Dodds of Princeton.

Our Latin-American Relations: Professor C. H. Haring of Harvard.

The Country Church and the Rural Ministry: Dr. Henry W. McLaughlin of the Presbyterian Church.

Economic Recovery: Professor Marcus Nadler of New York University.

Unemployment: Spencer Miller, Jr., Director of the Workers' Education Bureau of America.

Municipal Administration: Professor Thomas H. Reed of the University of Michigan.

Religious Education: The Reverend Minor C. Miller of the Virginia Council of Religious Education.

In addition special conferences were held on such subjects as Regulating Women's Work, World Economics, and Adult Education.

Especially notable was the round table on the anti-trust laws conducted by Gilbert Holland Montague, one of the leading corporation lawyers of

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the United States, assisted by many prominent business men and attorneys. The discussion waxed hot one afternoon when Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President, spoke from the floor to voice the opinions of his party. No better example can be offered of the spirit of the Institute than this session in which conservatives and radicals joined issue without rancor.

Another deservedly very popular round table was that led by Spencer Miller, Jr., on unemployment. In this round table was heard the insistent demand that something be done not only to relieve the immediate distress of our ten million unemployed but to get to the bottom of the problem of unemployment and solve it. Unemployment in the United States today is endemic; the depression has only intensified a persistent evil. When good times return unemployment will not cease—it will be more extensive than before the crisis because production will have been organized to economize labor still further. The responsibility for the care of the unemployed must, in the opinion of Dean J. C. Lawrence of the University of Minnesota, be put upon the employers, who should not be free to exploit labor in good times and throw it on the dole in bad to be supported by the community. Many other interesting views were debated with vigor, to the enlightenment of a large audience.

The round table on municipal administration was a novel affair, strictly for two invited groups of city officials, one representing the larger cities and the other the small towns of Virginia. Each of these groups of about twenty-five spent three days at the Beta Theta Pi house in company with a dozen or so "experts" in various fields of municipal administration. They ate together at the university commons and every effort was made to insure close contact between the mayors, councilmen, and managers on the one hand, and the professors, accountants, and other specialists on the other. They discussed unemployment, finance, health administration, town planning, and other topics. The universal opinion was that it was a great success, the academic experts testifying most loudly to its benefits.

A significant round table was that on county government, led by Professor Harold W. Dodds of Princeton and participated in by leading students of this subject from all over the United States. Professor Haring of Harvard carried on, as in several previous Institutes, a most stimulating series of discussions of our economic and political policy in Latin America. Dr. Marcus Nadler's round table on economic recovery brought together some of the ablest of American financiers. Many men of national prominence were on the programs of the round tables and at the evening public sessions at the McIntire Amphitheatre. The programs, however, as in past years, were characterized not so much by great names, which so often are the labels of pompous stupidity, as by living personalities self-forgetfully immersed in their subjects. Some of them were learned scholars, others practical politicians, administrators, business executives. The scholar has met the man of affairs on equal terms at the Institute

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of Public Affairs, and in this respect perhaps as much as any other it has served a useful purpose. The academic and the practical have mingled there to the great advantage of both.

Another great service of the Institute has been in bringing the North and the South together to discuss their common problems. The writer, a Northern Republican who has conducted a round table at each of the six Institutes, can testify most emphatically to the tolerance with which audiences predominantly Southern have received the frank discussion of problems on which the South is usually presumed to have prejudices. We have all come out of the debates of the Institute with a broader basis for our Americanism than we had when we went in.

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The First Carnegie Symposium for International Law Teachers

JESSE S. REEVES
University of Michigan

THE war-renouncing Briand-Kellogg Pact, the investigations of a League of Nations committee now under way in Manchuria, the recent refusal of American nations to recognize war-gained territory in the Chaco region, disarmament achieved and projected—these and many more international incidents within post-War days are details taking form and clarity in increasing number in a new picture of relations between the nations of the world, a picture in which mutual agreements and organized and active international law are increasingly overshadowing war as the means of ordering the contacts of the civilized nations.

With this future in view the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has seen the necessity for rapidly increasing in this country the number of persons capable of interpreting and teaching the history, growth, and application of international law; and this summer sponsored a first step in this direction in the symposium of seminars and lectures for teachers of international law, held at the University of Michigan from June 27 to July 28.

Intended primarily for teachers from the smaller colleges in the country, the Symposium had 34 in attendance, representing the District of Columbia and 17 states, from Maine to California. The Dean of the program was Jesse S. Reeves, William W. Cook Professor of American Institutions; the Chairman, Dr. James Brown Scott, Director of the Division of International Law, the Carnegie Endowment. Working with a small and picked group, the Symposium put in a month of concentrated study which the faculty felt to be eminently successful and worth while. Throughout the course round table discussion and debate, applying the principles of law to specific cases, overshadowed formal lectures.

Continued over a period of years, such conferences, which call together teachers of law from all parts of the nation, present to them the facts, problems, and possibilities of international law, and depend upon these educators to disseminate this information to their pupils and so ulti-

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mately to the public, may well prove to be one of the most pregnant means the Carnegie Endowment for Peace has ever devised for furthering its worthy ideal.

Five courses of regular lectures, several special evening lectures of general interest, and scheduled group conferences, centered the attention of those at the Symposium. The courses included "The Classics of International Law," James Brown Scott, Director of the Division of International Law, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; "Bibliography of International Law; International Law and the Constitution; Codification of International Law with respect to Territorial Waters and the Competence of Courts with regard to Foreign States," George Grafton Wilson, Professor of International Law, Harvard University; "The Technique of Codification of International Law; Codification of International Law with special reference to Diplomatic Privileges and Immunities," Jesse S. Reeves, Professor of Political Science, University of Michigan; "The Interpretation and Application of International Law in Anglo-American Countries," Edwin D. Dickinson, Professor of Law, University of Michigan Law School; "The Modern Sources of International Law," George A. Finch, Managing Editor, *American Journal of International Law*.

In the group conferences the following specific situations and problems were covered: A Definition of Public International Law; The Recognition of Soviet Russia; The Doctrine of an American International Law; Implementing the Kellogg Pact; Territorial Claims in the Arctic and Antarctic; The Monroe Doctrine; The Chaco Controversy; The United States and the World Court; Methods of Teaching International Law; American Policy as to Manchuria; and Methods of Teaching International Law.

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Symposium in Theoretical Physics

HARRISON McALLISTER RANDALL
Director, Physical Laboratory, University of Michigan

THE Symposium in Theoretical Physics sponsored by the University of Michigan held recently its tenth annual summer meeting in which distinguished American and foreign physicists have taken part. In meetings the first five years the questions discussed were principally in the field of experimental physics. Because of the rapid development of theoretical physics and the importance of its contributions, meetings of the past five years have been devoted to this field. From the very first this Symposium has aroused a widespread interest, the attendance being made up principally of advanced graduate students, physicists from research laboratories, and members of the staffs of American and foreign universities and colleges.

The general interest in these meetings has been due without doubt to three primary causes. The first of these has been the authoritative character of the lectures. An examination

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of the list of lecturers, one of whom was Werner Heisenberg of the University of Leipsic, notable for his formulation of the "principle of uncertainty," discloses that every one has won general recognition through his contributions, often of first rank, to this field. It is the custom of each lecturer to give three formal lectures a week throughout the eight weeks of the summer session, and as there have been generally from four to six lecturers, those in attendance have a wide range of choice of subjects. It is always possible to find in the Symposium, or among the regular courses offered by the department, work adapted to one's needs. In addition to formal lectures there are conferences and colloquia where lecturers and those attending meet for intimate and informal discussions of selected subjects. A second cause is the almost universal interest shown among physicists, experimentalists and theoreticians alike, about those new methods of theoretical physics which have in recent years led to achievements comparable in importance to the outstanding discoveries of experimental physics in the preceding years. A third cause is the fact that a large portion of those interested are outside the routine of regular graduate work; they are in fact mature men, often of distinction, who are physicists in research laboratories or members of the staffs of universities and colleges. They have felt the need of contacts with those actively contributing to this field and the summer is the only time during the year when time can readily be found for attendance at such meetings. While visitors for a day or week are frequent, the majority stay throughout the period of eight weeks.

While so far these meetings have been designed primarily for physicists, there have always been astronomers, chemists, mathematicians, and occasionally philosophers in attendance, a fact very suggestive of the direction in which future development may be expected. Finally, the intimate contacts so necessary for the purposes of these Symposia are readily established in so small a town as Ann Arbor. While the summer is generally regarded as an unfavorable time for work, the climatic conditions in Michigan are unusually favorable, extreme temperatures occurring only occasionally.

. . .

Summer Meeting of the A.A.A.S.

BURTON E. LIVINGSTON
General Secretary, American Association for the Advancement of Science

In these times of highly developed specialization in almost every branch of human endeavor it is interesting and encouraging to realize that such organizations as the American Association for the Advancement of Science really aim to represent knowledge as a whole and that their efforts in that direction are successful in no small degree.

The recent meeting of the American Association, which opened June 20 and closed June 25, at Syracuse

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University, furnished striking illustration of the fact that the numerous special sciences, no matter how special some of them may be, are inevitably interdependent in many ways. Upwards of a thousand men and women of science were in attendance and over 250 papers were presented. This was a small meeting, as compared with the winter meetings of the Association, but it represented a remarkably broad range of intellectual interests. There were sessions for mathematics, chemistry, astronomy, geology and geography, zoology, botany, anthropology, psychology, economic and social sciences, historical and philological sciences, engineering, medical sciences, agriculture, and education. There were joint sessions, at which two or more groups devoted to different departments of knowledge came together for discussion of their common problems. Thirteen general sessions were held from time to time between Monday afternoon and the succeeding Friday evening, each devoted to one or more invitation talks by well-selected leaders in science. At these sessions topics were presented for the understanding and appreciation of specialists in other fields as well as in the fields represented by the speakers, and many of them were also of great interest to the public in general. There were field trips and excursions, which furnished opportunity for convenient study, with competent guides, of outstanding geological and biological features of the Syracuse region. There were many exhibits showing methods and results of research in science and in education.

The special programs were arranged by the several sections of the Association with the cooperation of a number of special scientific societies or their regional branches, which contributed excellent programs of their own. A rule provides that no section shall arrange any programs that might compete or conflict with the programs of societies meeting with the Association. Only when a section's field is not represented at a meeting by its related independent societies does the section committee undertake to arrange programs of contributions. The "General Program" of the Syracuse meeting is a well-printed booklet of about 100 pages which furnishes an interesting cross-section of current American scientific interest and endeavor along many widely different lines.

For many years the American Association held, usually, only a single meeting each year, the regular annual meeting at the time of the Christmas holidays; but it was recently decided to hold an annual summer meeting in addition. The first of the new series of summer meetings occurred at Pasadena, in June 1931, and the Syracuse meeting was the second. While the winter meetings attract more people and a larger number of the special scientific societies, and their programs are consequently more extensive and complex, the meetings at Pasadena and at Syracuse have excelled by the very fact of their smaller size and the consequent greater freedom enjoyed by those attending. Excursions and field trips, for which the winter season is usually not very well suited, have constituted a specially enjoyable and profitable feature of the summer meetings. The

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Association is well aware that formal reading of papers and delivery of lectures represent only one of several purposes for which its meetings are held, and that individual contacts and conversational intercourse among those who attend constitute another purpose, which is considered as of paramount importance for the advancement of science. It has naturally been possible to give this social aspect more prominence at the summer meetings than at those held in winter.

The Association operates a very efficient press service which secures advance manuscripts and abstracts of papers that are to be presented and makes them available to numerous press representatives who have been detailed to report the meetings. The Syracuse meeting has been well reported in the newspapers throughout this country, and the press of other countries is continuing to quote from accounts published in our great dailies.

At the opening general session the president of the Association, Dr. John J. Abel, of the Johns Hopkins University, presided and Dr. Edward L. Thorndike, of Columbia University, spoke on "The Psychology of Capital." Among other interesting things Dr. Thorndyke said that if science is allowed to do what it can, enough material capital may be created from nature within a single lifetime to give to each of the 50 per cent who now have least, much more than any one person would be able to transmit to his children if he were now to receive an equal share of all the capital owned by men. He branded as a dangerous myth the notion that manual labor is the creator of all capital and that capital as such is the oppressor of labor.

At the closing general session Dr. Henry Crew, of Northwestern University, chief of the Division of Basic Sciences of the Century of Progress Exposition, which will be held at Chicago in 1933, spoke on "The Exposition of Science." After discussing the presentation of science to classes in school and college and to the public through the press, Dr. Crew considered the historical development and the present usefulness of great expositions. The approaching Chicago exposition is to emphasize and illustrate the indebtedness of industry to fundamental research, and the large amount of leisure enjoyed by everybody because of recent advances in science. Next summer's meeting of the Association and its associated organizations will be held in June, in connection with the great Chicago exposition.

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Harvard's Stolberg Library

ROBERT B. ANDERSON
Librarian, Harvard University Library

THE Stolberg library at Wernigerode has perhaps the most valuable of the large private collections of books and manuscripts whose dispersal has been necessitated by the unfortunate economic stress of the era through which we are passing. Fortunately Harvard has been able to acquire intact the section on law and political science and to save at

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least this much of the whole from further disintegration.

Unlike many of the older libraries of a similar character whose treasures were acquired in bulk from some old monastery, the Stolberg collection reached its preeminent position through the slow accretion of about four centuries. Its founder, Graf Wolfgang Ernst, died in 1606. His initials are still to be found on the bindings of some of the older volumes. (W. E. G. Z. S., i.e., Wolfgang Ernst Graf zu Stolberg). In his day the library was housed in the Silvester Church.

The period following the death of Wolfgang Ernst, which was that of the Thirty Years War, was little favorable to book collecting in Germany and little was done by the Stolberg house until the time of Graf Christian Ernst whose rule extended over a term of sixty-one years (1710–1771). He moved the collection to the castle at Wernigerode.

The century following the Reformation was apparently rich in the production of hymnals, of which Christian Ernst was an assiduous collector (in 1752 he had gathered together 1,067). In the field of church history and theology his additions to the library were numerous and important. At the time of his death the Bibles numbered 2,000. Large acquisitions were also made of contemporaneous historical productions, scientific, and historical works. In fact no field of literature seems to have been neglected. It is said that the Count personally read and checked "Libenius" in order to insure completeness in the legal section of the library. (We did this here nearly 200 years later.) What is particularly interesting to the University is the acquisition at this period of the greater part of the collection of "Deductionen" (memorials and briefs on the legal and political relations of the German nobility) which is in the section purchased by Harvard.

In January, 1746, the library was formally opened to the public; on Wednesdays and Saturdays for local users and on other days for visitors in accordance with their needs, and this semi-public character the collection has always retained.

Little book accumulating was done by the next two rulers, son and grandson respectively of Christian Ernst. The former, Heinrich Ernst, ruled but seven years and the latter, Christian Friedrich, was driven from his ancestral house by the Napoleonic wars.

Graf Heinrich who succeeded his father, Christian Friedrich, in 1824 and whose interest in bibliography and book collecting rivaled that of his great-grandfather, added very greatly to the library. By purchase in 1846 he acquired 13,000 volumes and 10,000 maps from the estate of Regierungs-direktor Delius and his other additions to the library were very large. Since his death in 1854 his successors have added to its enrichment, making it one of the best general collections of Germany. Unfortunate it is that it has had to be sold and scattered.

The Harvard purchase which arrived in 104 large packing cases will amount to approximately 12,500 volumes. The actual number of

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pieces will greatly exceed this figure as in binding there has been a great deal of consolidation, some single volumes containing twenty or more items. The books are in exceptionally fine condition and there is comparatively little binding remaining to be done. This materially reduces the expense of caring for the collection.

The sections devoted to bibliographies and encyclopedias of law and political science have few books of outstanding importance. The works here are those which a library of this character and size would be expected to possess. There are, however, two incunabula, both editions of *Vocabularius Juris.*

A raft of monographs, treaties, and documents of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, as well as later materials indispensable to an understanding of the diplomatic history of the period make up a second section. As was to be expected, it is largely of German origin.

Manuals, court calendars, and innumerable directories of all kinds, some of quite early date but largely of the 19th century, are represented. Books on economics and finance, forming one of the largest divisions, furnish plenty of material for those interested in taxation, and also a good deal on labor and social welfare.

One large section is comprised of a number of works dealing with government in general, but more particularly with that of Germany and the German states, from an early period to the present day. Here also are works on the various revolutionary movements to overthrow existing institutions, proposals for social reform of all kinds, and accounts and reports of various establishments for social welfare, including public health, care of the poor and dependent classes, and protection against fire—a well documented collection.

One section contains strictly legal books. Here are works in almost every field of jurisprudence (including such primary source material as codes and laws and decisions of the courts). The early codes of the Goths and the Germanic nations, the "*Reichsabschiede*" and *Kammergericht* decisions of the Holy Roman Empire, and the modern codes and court decisions of the 19th century are all well represented. Works on German law of the Middle Ages, feudal law, Roman law, criminal law, and ecclesiastical law are here in large numbers. Of more than ordinary interest are to be noted several editions, printed before 1500, of the *Sachsenspiegel* and the first dated edition of the *Decretals* of Gregory IX printed by Schöffer at Mainz in 1473.

The Library contains in addition a rather unimpressive lot of periodicals, for the most part incomplete; 1800 titles on political science, largely works of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, presenting many German authors of outstanding importance; a vast collection of juridical dissertations; and the first edition of Milton's reply to Saumaise.

On the whole the collection is exceptionally rich in usable works. Its weakness lies in the meager representation of non-German authors and of authors whose works were not published in Germany.

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Discussion

Throw Away Your Vote?

SCHUYLER C. WALLACE
Department of Government, Columbia University

A VOTE for a minor party is a vote thrown away" is an axiom upon which all practical politicians are agreed. And in a measure they are right. A vote for a minor party *is* a vote thrown away in so far as any immediate effect upon the personnel of government is concerned.

It can be taken for granted that either Mr. Roosevelt or Mr. Hoover will be elected President of the United States at the coming election almost as certainly as that the sun will rise tomorrow. More than that, it can readily be assumed under the presidential form of government that the two major parties, or at least two major parties, will continue to dominate the American scene.

Nevertheless, the fact that of the twenty-eight major proposals espoused by the minor parties between the years 1872 and 1917, twenty-four have since found their way into the platform of one or other major party and thence into law, must give us pause. That the twenty-four proposals thus appropriated from the platforms of the minor parties constituted two-thirds of all the proposals relating to domestic affairs to be found in the platforms of both the major parties during these same years raises further question.

The problem which seemingly confronts the American voter is whether he prefers to cast his ballot with regard to its immediate effect only, or whether he is more interested in its long term consequence.

If the paramount issue in this campaign is the choice of Tweedledee instead of Tweedledum, then the voter may well support one or other of the major parties. If the choice between the two major candidates is inconsequential, then the voter may preferably align himself with a third or minor party to whose program he subscribes. In so doing he may feel confident that the desertion of the major party for a minor will in the long run exact such a leverage upon one or other of the major parties as to compel the incorporation in its platform of many of the principles of the minor party. The two major parties are after all nothing but two great political brokerage houses eager to build up and hold their respective clienteles. The larger the block of minor party voters, consequently, the greater will be the temptation of the major party managers to bid for them.

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Both Eye and Mind Commend

To the Editor:

Among the consolations of this short speaking trip has been making acquaintance with The American Scholar. It is a keen pleasure for me to find new-born in the United States a magazine of such intellectual competence. It was a happy thought, I think, to connect the Washington year with the lack of valuable party function in our country. And what a lively piece is "The Road to Weimar!" I was glad to see Mr. Perry did not forget Monk Lewis. Recently I received the first edition of "The Monk," and also Lewis's life and letters, and think Coleridge was right in giving him some serious talents. Well, the train starts, and I will merely thank you for the magazine and hope that America will appreciate it.

Norman Hapgood, editor, author.

To the Editor:

A magazine which publishes articles of the calibre of "The Road to Weimar," "John Marshall," and "Humanizing Education" is worthy to bear the title The American Scholar. . . . Considering the brief time that The American Scholar has been issued, you are to be congratulated that it has already been accepted for indexing in the *International Index to Periodicals*.

Guy R. Lyle, Librarian, Antioch College.

To The Scribner Press:

At the Yale Library the writer has been admiring the typography of The American Scholar and if it is not asking too much, would appreciate an overrun 4 or 8 page signature, to add to a collection we are making of unusually attractive typographical pages.

Thank you in advance for the courtesy.

Very truly yours,
The Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor Co.
H. Kenneth Dirlam.

. . .

Prophet or Medium?

Dean Gauss tells us that a Phi Beta Kappa man predicted that every number of The American Scholar "will contain seventeen Latin quotations and the reader will have to brace himself lest some belated Greek professor startle him with *gnothi seauton* or something equally novel."

The concept of a Phi Beta Kappa man in a state of panic when confronted by Latin and Greek quotations as trite as *gnothi seauton* seems to involve an antinomy. But, on the other hand, the Phi Beta Kappa novelist qualifies as a good prophet, at least as regards the very number in the magazine in which his prophecy appears. If my count is correct, it contains exactly seventeen Latin quotations, and exactly one Greek phrase besides his own.

Walter Franklin Prince, Psychical Researcher.

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Phi Beta Kappa Authors

The asterisk indicates presentation to the library of the United Chapters.

Poetry, Drama, and Fiction

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*Luetkemeyer, Mrs. Edmund H., Western Reserve 1906, *Sheaves of Soul and Song.* Cincinnati: The Miami Press Co.

Mackaye, Percy, Harvard 1908, *Moments on Voyage.* Washington, D. C.: The Pioneer Press.

Macleish, Archibald, Yale 1915, *Conquistador.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. $2.50.

Morton, David, Vanderbilt 1920, *Shorter Modern Poems, 1900–1931.* New York: Harper & Bros. $2.

Oliver, John Rathbone, Harvard 1894, *The Good Shepherd.* New York: Frederick A. Stokes & Co. $2.

General Works on Literature and Art

Babbitt, Irving, Harvard 1897, *On Being Creative: And Other Essays.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. $2.50.

Basore, John W., Johns Hopkins 1898, *Seneca: Volume II, Moral Essays.* New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. $2.50.

Edgell, George Harold, Harvard 1909, *A History of Sienese Painting.* New York: The Dial Press. $10.

Edwards, Edward B., Williams 1894, *Dynamarhythmic Design.* New York: The Century Co. $3.50.

Klein, Anita, Grinnell 1918, *Child Life in Greek Art.* New York: Columbia University Press.

*Miller, Anna Irene, Mount Holyoke 1929, *The Independent Theatre in Europe.* New York: Ray Long & Richard R. Smith, Inc. $4.

Morley, Christopher, Haverford 1910, *Ex Libris Carissimis.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. $2.

History, Government, and Biography

Bates, Ernest Sutherland, Michigan 1909 (with John V. Dittemore), *Mary Baker Eddy: The Truth and the Tradition.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Brooks, Van Wyck, Harvard 1908, *The Life of Emerson.* New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. $3.

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*Church, Frederic C., Cornell 1909, *The Italian Reformers, 1534–1564.* New York: Columbia University Press. $5.

Clark, Charles Upson, Yale 1897, *United Roumania.* With 41 illustrations and 5 maps. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. $3.

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CRAVEN, AVERY O., Chicago 1924, *Edmund Ruffin, Southerner*. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

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*QUINN, ARTHUR HOBSON, Pennsylvania 1894, *The Soul of America*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. $3.

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ALLEE, WARDER CLYDE, Chicago 1912, *Animal Life and Social Growth*. Baltimore: The Williams and Wilkins Co. $1.

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HOCKING, WILLIAM ERNEST, Stanford 1906, *Types of Philosophy*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.50.

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LYMAN, MARY ELY, Pomona 1920, *The Fourth Gospel and the Life of Today*. New York: The Macmillan Co.

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MOTT, JOHN R., Cornell 1888, *Liberating the Lay Forces of Christianity*. New York: The Macmillan Co. $2.

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ECONOMIZE IN TIME

THROUGHOUT our lives we have been advised to economize—not necessarily to spend nothing, but to spend wisely. So most of us have learned the lesson of economy in money matters. ❧ Economy is equally important in the use of time. Part of our waking hours belongs to others—to employers, to family, to friends—but a part belongs rightly to ourselves, to be respected, guarded, and invested as deliberately and wisely as dollars. ❧ Benjamin Franklin said that an investment in education pays the best dividends. It is a safe investment because it can not be lost in speculation. It is not subject to market changes. It is ours to enjoy for the rest of our lives. A trained and skillful mind is the best known protection during business depression; and training prepares us also to reap the benefits during business recovery. In proportion to its costs education yields the best dividends in money and in those satisfactions and enjoyments known as cultural advantages. ❧ The facilities of Columbia University are offered you to help you invest your own time wisely and profitably. Here is a partial list of subjects available for study at home.

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IN this country, we are in the midst of an adult educational movement. Home study courses are being taken by about 1½ million people which is nearly twice the total number of students in our universities, colleges and professional schools. University home study courses are especially important in this movement because they offer careful guidance under experienced educators. ❧ Columbia courses have been prepared to meet the special requirements of study at home. They are sufficiently elastic to be adapted to the students' individual needs. Everyone who enrolls is personally taught by a member of the University teaching staff. ❧ In writing, mention subjects which interest you, even if they are not listed, as additions are made from time to time. ❧ A bulletin showing a complete list of home study courses will be sent upon request. In addition to the general University courses this bulletin includes courses that cover complete high school and college preparatory training.

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PLAYWRITING
POETRY
PSYCHOLOGY
PUBLIC HEALTH
PUBLIC SPEAKING
REAL ESTATE
RELIGION
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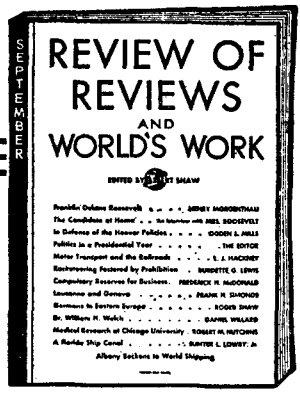

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